RHIND PAPYRI.

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FACSIMILES

OF

TWO PAPYRI

FOUND IN A TOMB AT THEBES.

WITH A TRANSLATION BY

SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, ACADEMIES OF BERLIN, HERCULANEUM, &c.

AND AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR DISCOVERY BY

A. HENRY RHIND, ESQ., F.S.A., &c.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS WORK comprises the description of two Papyri discovered in the year 1860 at Thebes by A. H. RHIND, Esq., in an excavation specially undertaken by him for the purpose of exploring the sepulchres of that cemetery. A detailed account of the circumstances under which they were discovered is given by him in the latter portion of the text, and adds a greater interest to the documents; the conditions under which Papyri are found being, on account of the secrecy maintained by the Arabs, seldom known. The first portion of the work contains a translation of the hieratic texts of the documents, accompanied by a commentary on the most difficult words and phrases which occur in them. The value of these Papyri is greatly enhanced by their biliteral nature, the upper or hieratic text being accompanied throughout by a demotic version or translation. The fact that hitherto greater progress has been made in the interpretation and translation of the hieratic than of the demotic writing renders this double version most valuable for future researches into the demotic characters and inscriptions. To the facsimiles of Papyri has been added a Plate containing drawings of other objects discovered during these excavations. The originals are at present deposited in the Museum of Edinburgh; and Mr. RHIND, in order to render their contents universally available, has published them in their present form. The facsimiles, which were made by the late Mr. JOSEPH NETHERCLIFT, are accurate and careful; and Messrs. LONGMAN have kindly lent the hieroglyphical types of their newly made fount for the illustration of the text.

S. B.

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Page 8, line 14. The phrase *khab er ermen* appears to be literally 'quiet to the arms' of the horizon, or 'quiet to.' Compare, for example, the form *khab*, 'quiet,' Lepsius, Denkm. iv. 60, b. There are, however, two other forms of *khab*, one determined by a moon (Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. pl. 118, 6, 3) or star (Sarcophagus, Eg. Gall. British Museum, No. 3), and *khabu*, to 'bend' (Papyrus Anastasi, Brit. Mus. pl. 5, l. 11) or 'disturb' (Select Papyri, cvi. l. 7) with the determinative of a man fallen.

FACSIMILES OF TWO EGYPTIAN BILINGUAL PAPYRI.

THE two Papyri, of which the following translation is given, were found by Mr. Rhind in an excavation undertaken by him at the foot of El Shekh Abd-el-Goorneh, and the account of their discovery, drawn up by Mr. Rhind himself, will be found appended to their description. It is therefore unnecessary to do more than call the reader's attention to the interesting circumstances under which they were exhumed from the sepulchres of Thebes.

The Papyrus on which the manuscripts are written exhibits all the peculiarities of those of the Ptolemaic period, being whiter and stiffer than those of the earlier dynasties. The first Papyrus appears to have been placed close to the mummy, and has been penetrated by the wax or other substances with which the body was embalmed; these have rendered it darker and browner than the second Papyrus. They measure 10 inches broad; one being 9 feet 11 inches and the other 7 feet long. The Vignettes, coarsely executed both in drawing and colour, present a great contrast to the neat and mannered style of the 26th dynasty, the brilliant colouring and flowing lines of the 19th and 20th dynasties, or the elegant form and refined drawing and lines of the 18th and preceding dynasties. They mark unequivocally the decadence of art which had taken place under the Ptolemies. There are also great poverty in their composition, and but little variety in the deities and other types introduced. The Script is remarkably coarse, and exhibits several peculiarities of the period; the characters are large, and by no means so neatly formed or closely written as in the older period of the 21st and 26th dynasties, or so flowing and cursive as in the 11th and 18th. It is also distinguished by an equal thickness of line, and an angular isolation of each character. Some of the forms, too, are quite dissimilar to those employed at an earlier age, and the reading of course more difficult and obscure. At times, indeed, the scribe has unconsciously passed at once from the hieratic to the demotic writing and mixed the two, but this only occurs at the end of hieratic pages. The Language of the Papyri exhibits marks of the late period to which it belongs; a striking peculiarity of which is the substitution of  *au* for the usual prepositions  *er* and *em*, the form approaching nearer to the Coptic ⲙ; but there is no peculiar use of equivalents or later hieroglyphs. Several of the words, however, are new, and are either later forms of expressions which had grown obsolete in the days of the Ptolemies, or else are words which have not as yet been found in either texts. One striking peculiarity is the use of the affix masculine article  , the Coptic Π, which is extensively employed in the hieratic texts of the oldest period referring to civil matters, but scarcely ever in religious formulas. It always, however, existed in the spoken language, is common in the demotic or enchorial, and is also the normal form of expression in Coptic.

The argument, or contents, of these Rituals of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods differs considerably from that of the older 'Book of the Dead,' or Ritual: that work embracing a large suite of formulas for the preservation of the body, and manifestation of the soul to the light, or its departure from the day; and each book, or section, having a heading at the commencement giving the contents of the chapters, and rubrical directions at the end explaining its scope and application. But at the close of the Ptolemaic period this work had disappeared, and was succeeded by the 'Book of the Sighs,' or 'Transmigrations, of Isis,'[1] mixed with garbled extracts of the early Ritual. Now the object of the 'Book of the Transmigrations of Isis' is stated to be that of reviving the soul and body of Osiris, reuniting his limbs, sending him to the horizon with his father Ra, or the Sun, and

[1] H. Brugsch, *Sai en Sinsin, sive Liber Metempsychosis.* 4to. Berl. 1851. The question whether *Sinsin* signifies 'Metempsychosis' or 'Lamentations' will be subsequently discussed.

making his soul rise as the disk of the moon and his body shine as the constellation *Sahu*, the supposed Orion (but according to these Papyri one of the asterisms of the southern heaven, here stated to be in the body of the heaven), and his transformations to take place in the field of Seb. To what this latter expression refers is not evident, as the fields of Seb are rarely mentioned in these texts, the principal fields being those of the *Aah nr(l)u* or 'Elysium,' of the *Hept* or 'Pools,' and of the *Sanahmu* or 'Locusts.'

The First Part of the 'Book of Transmigrations' describes the mystical manipulation and preparation of the body of the Osiris in the Pool of Natron, and in the waters of the fields of Hetp, on the north of the fields of Sanahmu, by the goddesses Sati and Nub, at the eighth hour of the day and the same of the night. This mystical washing cleansed the deceased from all impurity, and he was named the Stone, or Pearl, of Truth. The Second Address refers to other purifications in the halls of Shu and Seb, the beholding of the Sun, and of Atum (the evening or setting form of the same luminary), when Amen Ra accords the breath of life, and Ptah reunites or gilds the limbs of the Osiris, who goes to the horizon with the Sun, and is received in the solar gate, the celestial paradise, with Osiris. The Third Invocation announces that the name, the body, and the mummy of the Osiris flourish; that the soul shines at or like the sun (for the soul was supposed to be a luminous starry principle), and that it lives as Amen Ra does, while the body rises again '*renpu*' like that of Osiris and the soul transmigrates, or perhaps the body breathes for ever. The soul receives the usual meals of the dead, flesh and fowl; performs libations; eats with the other divine souls; and lives as it did on earth in this second life. It is also not turned away from the gate of the heaven or paradise. Thoth, who comes to the soul, brings it the 'Book of the *Sen sen*,' or 'Transmigrations,' written with his own fingers, and the soul breathes or transmigrates for ever. The soul becomes consequently divine, having the heart of the Sun and the limbs of Horus. It is the god Amen Ra, according to this later mythology, who renews or revives the life of the deceased, while Apheru or the Preparer of the Path, a form of Anubis, gives a good passage to the deceased. The soul is also said to receive the joys '*sher sher*' of the great Persea, or the tree of life, in the Egyptian garden or paradise. Amen Ra also allows the soul to breathe, or transmigrate as it wishes, by means of the 'Book of Transmigrations' attached as a charm or amulet to the deceased, and by the writings of justification placed on his body. The soul of the Sun, or the cosmic soul, is supposed to give life to the soul, and that of Shu to penetrate the ears '*mestqt*.' In the Fourth Invocation, in addition to some of these previous ideas, the body is said to live in Tattu and Nifuer, the soul in the heaven; proving the double existence of the future state. Pasht prevails against his calumniators; three forms of Horus make his mind and his soul, or guard his body; he flourishes in the Ta-ser, or Hades. He rises in his shape, adorned with all decorations. The Sun shines on the house of the deceased, which is placed in the region of the mystical Tattu. The soul is illumined by the 'Book of Transmigrations,' and he serves Osiris; the odour of his sanctity is described as fragrant amongst the blessed, and his name great amongst mummies '*sahu*.' The virtues of this mystical book, in fact, restored the heart and eyes of the deceased, or kept them in their places. Into it are also introduced the negative confession of the 125th chapter of the Ritual, and the so called sepulchral formula which was engraved on the tomb and sepulchral tablet of the deceased; which all who passed by the sepulchre were invoked, as they loved life, hated death, reverenced the gods, or hoped their name and posterity to remain, to repeat as a kind of 'Orate pro animâ' of the departed. This offering, which was called the *suten-ta-hept*, 'the royal welcome,' appears to have been made in the name of the king to the principal sepulchral gods, and was of the most remote antiquity, being found upon monuments of the 4th dynasty. The blessings which the gods were invoked to confer on the deceased in the Hades are too numerous to be specified in complete detail; but they include the usual requirements of Egyptian life, especially food, which appears to have been as requisite in the future existence as in the present, and the means by which, as stated at the end of the formula, a god lives. These consist of the flesh of oxen or calves *aha*, ducks *hap*, and geese; bread *ta*, beer *hek*, wine *arp*, milk *art*, water *kabh*, frankincense *sen neter*, salt *merh*, grain *gefa*, clothes *hebs*, vegetables *han*, fabrics *menkh*, and fruit *mut renpa*: to which may be added the sweet or fresh water of the Nile, and the delicious north wind; the things given by heaven, created on earth, and produced by the Nile; and, in short, all good and delicious things. The deceased was thought particularly to taste the cakes *sen nu* and viands which came off the altars of the gods. To these are added the power to the body of going in and out of Hades and of passing the Empyreal Gate, and to the soul of coming off the earth and making such changes as it desires. This formula is more or less extended, apparently at the option of the scribes and according to the developement of faith, but it embraced the principal points of Egyptian belief. As the Egyptian justification was by good works, a confession of these is inserted in the 'Book of Transmigrations.' The Egyptian faith seems not to have been disturbed by doubt or heresy, so that it never formalised any series of doctrines which it

was imperative to hold. In the future state, indeed, the deceased asserted that he knew the names and nature of certain gods and demons, and that this knowledge enabled him to pass or escape their destructive influence; but belief in the gods is not mentioned, probably because there was no doubt upon the subject. The good works pleaded are: the doing of the will of the gods and what men love; the living on and feeding off truth; the giving of bread to the hungry, water or drink to the thirsty, and clothes to the naked; sacrifices to the gods, and ancestral offerings to the departed spirits. These are in addition to the general moral code which, at the great judgement before Osiris, he professed to have kept, by asserting that he had not committed any of the heinous crimes of murder, theft, or violence. In the case of the 'Book of Transmigrations,' it is stated that of such a man there had not been made anyone like '*smau*' him before the gods. Such men, the just and perfect, were called 'the justified,' *makkru*; a word which may be the origin of the Greek *makarios*, or 'blessed,' which appears at a later period before the names of departed Coptic ecclesiastics and others on their tombstones.

This sepulchral formula appears from the earliest period of the 4th dynasty to the close of the monarchy under the Romans. It was inscribed upon all objects deposited with the dead, and is most varied in its contents; indeed, a complete examination of all known formulas would embrace all the sepulchral monuments. It was, as Diodorus states, a royal welcome or peace-offering, made in the name of the king to sepulchral deities; under the 4th dynasty to Anubis, under the 12th to Osiris as well, and under the 18th to the Theban divinities and the whole cycle of the Pantheon. The action of making it is represented by one hand elevated over a table or altar of viands.[1] All who passed by the sepulchral monument were adjured, even at the earliest age, as they loved life and hated death, to repeat it; or, at a later age, as they loved the gods of their land, reverenced their king, wished their monuments to remain, their dignities to be transmitted to their children, and desired never to thirst or to hunger.[2] A monument of the age of the 26th dynasty invites the persons who recite this 'Orate pro animâ' to touch the monument with their hands[3] when they repeat the formula. The gifts which the gods gave have been already detailed. They varied at different ages: food and a good funeral after a happy old age formed the earliest expression, or to tread the good path which leads to the West.[4] The food was that which came daily on and off the altar of the great god, probably Osiris, or on the festivals of Hades. The blessings which the gods gave were: that the deceased should not be turned away from the Empyreal Gate by which the soul ascended to heaven; that he should come off the earth as a living soul, see the Sun's disk, become one of the servants of Osiris, Ra, or Socharis,[5] and accompany Osiris to the edge or limit of the gap in the horizon,[6] through which the soul was supposed to pass; that he should take his seat in the boat on the day of the festival of *uka*, or have hands held out from the *nashm*, or barge of Osiris, to take him in; that he should be welcomed by the chiefs of Abydos, and that his soul should live to make its transformations, and not be detained against its will; that the deceased should go in and out of Kar neter, or Hades; and that his name should remain and never be lost.[7] Amongst other blessings were: light of the Sun, or to be luminous as the Sun in heaven; to be as rich as Seb on earth; and justified as, or to, Osiris in Hades.[8] But with all these spiritual preparations for the future judgement, an additional array of charms, amulets, phylacteries, and the whole armour of magic, was essential to the preservation of the mummy of the deceased from injury or decay. In most instances, a certain formula inscribed upon a bandage of linen or on a slip of papyrus, or an amulet of jasper, was sufficient: but in some the charms, prayers, and invocations were pronounced over the object before it was laid upon the portion of the body to be protected; and the head, ears, neck, heart, stomach, and knees were the principal spots on which these charms were placed. In other instances, the exterior cartonages, or bandages, overlaid with a coating of lime, were painted with vignettes; and sometimes whole chapters of an important nature were inscribed upon them.

In the case of the *Shai en Sen sen*, or 'Book of Transmigrations,' the book itself was supposed to possess the power of enabling the deceased, upon whom it was laid, to perform all the transformations necessary to place his heart, on the due preservation of which the soul itself was dependent. At the end of the book it is stated that the deceased has 'transmigrated with his soul through the Empyreal Gate, and made all the transformations to place his heart in the West; and that his soul may go everywhere it wishes, or be at liberty to live as it did on earth for ever and ever. Osiris is brought within the great Pool of Chonsu, where he has . . . his heart. The 'Book of Transmigrations' in hieratic

[1] Tablet, Egyptian Gallery, British Museum, No. 246.
[2] Tablet, Eg. Gall. Brit. Mus. No. 114. Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions, pl. 2.
[3] Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 112, 8.
[4] Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. new series, 27–61: cf. Eg. Inscr. n. s. 41.
[5] Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. n. s. 78.
[6] Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 112.
[7] Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. n. s. 80.
[8] Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. n. s. 41.

writing should be wrapped in royal linen, and placed under the left arm at the centre of the heart, the true . . . .'[1] The similarity of this book to the general tenor of the Papyri of Mr. Rhind, and the fact that part of a 'Book of Transmigrations' is appended to each of them, have rendered necessary the analysis of the *Shai en Sen sen* as an introduction to their contents.

The mummies for which these Papyri were made are those of two persons of high rank at Hermonthis, or Southern Annu; a name similar to that of Heliopolis, but the god Mentu, the Egyptian Mars, was its eponymous and most important deity. The person to whom the first Papyrus belongs was named Mentu, and surnamed Sebauf, or Mentu-Sebauf, perhaps the old Egyptian Mentesuphis of the Greek lists; and the conjecture is strengthened by the fact that his father assumed the name of Menkara, borne by a monarch of the 4th dynasty and subsequently introduced into the 26th, Mentu-Sebauf probably considering himself descended from some of the old Theban kings. His mother's name was Tasherenmentu or Tapamentu, and the family was named in honour of the god of whom his father was the prophet. It is clear that the whole family were of local importance in Southern Annu, or Hermonthis; and, whatever destruction may have overwhelmed the city of Thebes under Ptolemy Lathyrus, both Thebes and Hermonthis retained vestiges of their former splendour in the reign of Cleopatra. There is great difficulty about his titles. He is called a *khem*, a title generally found in connection with the form *kherp* or *khem*, and which appears to have been in existence at a very remote period. The form *kherp*  , 'chief,' generally occurs in relation to the guardianship of shrines and temples, and is scarcely distinguishable from *khem*, 'to prevail' or 'stand.'[2] The form *khem* is found at a very early age, and is not clearly distinguishable from a character used to signify 'artificer'; and it is possible that the deceased may have held some such charge in the temples. He was also a 'brother' of the *maha* of the king, but no very satisfactory solution of this word can be offered. The *mahau* are supposed to be a kind of military chiefs of inferior rank to the *her*.[3] If it could be proved that the word *sen* had, instead of brother, the meaning of 'two' or 'second,' it might mean that he was the second of the royal officers,[4] or even body-guard, the somatophylaces of the Greek inscriptions;[5] and on the coffin of Queen Ankh sen Ra Neferhat, an officer is styled 'brother of the *mahau* of the name.' The deceased also held the office of *ras sem sem*, watcher of the brood mares;[6] or watcher of the *sesem*, a kind of tree-fruit or corn, supposing that the word *sem sem* is here used as in other Ptolemaic inscriptions for *sesem*, and that the determinative is the form for the skin: but it is almost impossible to tell what was the particular charge implied. Fortunately the titles of his father, Menkara, are clearer. He was a *repa* or 'lord,' *ha* 'chief' or 'nomarch,' and *mer meneferu* 'captain of troops,' in Southern Annu, or Hermonthis, and the *mer* or *nasr* 'governor' of the same place. He was also a *neter ten* 'constructor' or 'architect'; a *neter at* 'divine father,' a lower kind of sacerdotal functionary or prophet of Mentu; and a commander of troops in Southern Annu, or Hermonthis. His mother, Tapamentu, does not appear to have held any office or sacerdotal function. In accordance with the formulas of the Ptolemaic age, which give the dates of the reigns under which the deceased were born and their age, this Papyrus gives the following information. Mentu-Sebauf was born in the house of his father, on the 28th of the month Athyr, in the 13th year of Ptolemy Philopator III. or Neos Dionysos, B.C. 68. He had passed the age of 59, and entered upon his 60th year by 1 month and 14 days. He died on the 10th Epiphi, in the 21st year of Augustus, B.C. 9. The contents and religious purport of the Papyrus will be explained under the respective pages and sections. The other Papyrus is that of a female named Taani, the wife of Mentu-Sebauf, and daughter of a Kalasher or Kalasiris, who, like her husband, held the office of brother of the *mahau* of the king; and who was a *repa* or 'lord' and *ha* or 'chief,' and held the office of priest of Mentu or Mars, lord of Southern Annu. Her mother's name was Aiut. The genealogy of the family is, therefore, as follows:



She was born on the 26th of the month Pashons, in the 19th year of Ptolemy Neos Dionysos, B.C. 62. She reached the age of 54, and died on the 59th of the month Mesori in the 21st year of Augustus, B.C. 9, having only survived her husband 48 days, and having probably expired of grief, as the text has 'bewailing;' or was the widow of her husband 48 days.

[1] Brugsch, *Sai en Sinsin*. 4to, Berl. 1851.

[2] See also Lepsius, Todtenbuch, xix. 78, l. 33: 'the chiefs of the roads, the guardians of the roads.'

[3] Chabas, Inscription d'Ibsamsul, Rev. Arch. 1861, p. 768. Cf. Pap. Rhind, III. l. 5, 10.

[4] Thus at Ibsamsul it might read: 'we are two of the chiefs of the officers.'

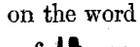
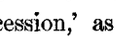
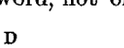
[5] The word *maha*, 'sepulchre,' has also been discovered by Mr. Goodwin, but hardly applies here. In Prisse, Mon. xvii. l. 14, it occurs as a verb.

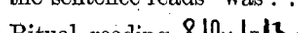
[6] Pap. Rhind, IV. l. 6. 1.

Both these Papyri are of the Roman period, and their script exhibits all the peculiarities of the time, being a coarse and by no means neat hand, often undistinguishable from the demotic, which is sometimes introduced into it. The vignettes are coarsely drawn, and are very different from those which accompany the 'Funeral Ritual' or 'Book of the Dead,' and the texts are of a different nature; the formula of the birth, death, and burial of the deceased being introduced into the commencement of the documents. The ideas, indeed, are generally similar to those of the older Rituals, and the departure or procession of the soul from earth is prominently brought forward. The Hades or Kar neter, the Empyreal Gate, Osiris, Tum, and the usual deities of Egypt, are invoked or mentioned; and there is no trace of any foreign influence or exotic worship. Still there is, in all respects, a great decline from the earlier formulas. There is a weak repetition of the same idea, and the circle of divinities and gods is more limited, while there is an apparent decay of the Osiris worship; for at this period the name of the goddess Athor, the Egyptian Venus, is prefixed to the titles and names of females, instead of that of Osiris, a novelty which does not appear to date earlier than the Ptolemies.

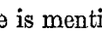
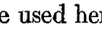
Pl. I. — The Vignette of the 1st page represents the mummy of the deceased laid out in the Pool of Chons, and surmounted by the right symbolic eye, called in the Ritual the Eye of Shu, the emblem of the vital principle, which as long as it existed in the body prevented its decay. At the head of the mummy of the deceased stands Anup or Anubis, jackal-headed, wearing on his head the pschent or crown of the upper and lower worlds, having a tunic '*shenti*' round his loins, holding an emblem of life in his right hand, and extending his left towards the mummy. At the foot of the mummy stands Thoth, who has been represented ibis-headed, wearing a tunic '*shenti*' round his loins, and holding a palette in his right hand. The greater portion of the figure has been destroyed, but Thoth here stands in antithesis to Anubis, and the two appear often in papyri of this period. Over the body are the four Genii or gods of the Amenti, as they have been called. They had charge of the viscera of the deceased, and represented the four cardinal points of the compass. Their order here is abnormal: Kabhsnuf, the hawk-headed, being placed first; Hapi, cynocephalus-headed, second; Amset, human-headed, third; and Tuautmutf, jackal-headed, last. Their proper sequence, as shown in the coronation of Rameses III. at Medinet Haboo, is Amset, Hapi, Tuautmutf, Kabhsnuf. The Text of the 1st page reads:

'The year 13, the 28th of the month Athyr, of the reign of the monarch Ptolemaius the father-loving (Philopator III.), was born a good son in the place of his father, the *khem* Sebau, so named. His father was the archon of the city of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), priest of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara by name . . . . . for he was greatly beloved and much esteemed in the hearts of his brethren; what emanated from him was beloved, whatever he did is excellent to speak of. He left a son and daughter after him to offer. He passed 59 years, and entered upon the 60th year by 10 months and 14 days. Seated with millions there was made to him a good place of the scents of Pant (Phœnicia) constantly. There was not found evil in his heart in the festivals of each god when before him on the first day. The close of his life came, he was turned back, and strode into the Place of new Birth. He came out, and went into the Kar neter as if on earth. He went to the Place of Enwrapping in the 21st year of Cæsar. The funeral was made from the 10th to the 15th Epiphi, clothed, prepared, and . . . . . done in the region of Akar, by the scribes, servants of Ra . . . . . was received by those in the Empyreal Gate, the gods of the land of . . . . . He was washed, brother of the *maha* (cousin) of the king, the *khem* Sebau, the son of the divine builder, the priest of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, born of Tapamentu.'

In the description of the Second Papyrus will be found some philological remarks on the word *ba*, 'to be born,' which occurs in the 1st line. The office  *khem* is frequently mentioned in the Ptolemaic texts, and even found as early as the 4th dynasty in the form of  *khem sa*. The word *khem* radically means 'to prevail,' 'to stand against.' The form, indeed, in which it appears in the hieratic rather resembles  , a variant of the expression for 'workmen.' The phrase in the same line, *hur er*, 'greatest of the district,' is translated on the coffin of Soter, an archon of Thebes in Egypt in the reign of Trajan, by Ἄρχων, or Archon. The phrase at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th line is obscure. The word  *uteb*, in line 5, has evidently the meaning of 'succession,' as he begat a son and daughter to succeed after him, or 'offer' to his manes; and the trussed duck, in this sense, will be found in the tablet of Pasherienptah. This rare word, not older than the Roman times, recurs in the Second Papyrus. The word  , at the

beginning of line 7, is the verb *aru* or *alu*, 'to do,' and occurs often instead of *ar*, 'to do,' on papyri of the Ptolemaic period. In line 8 is the word , also an unusual form, the meaning of which is not quite plain, for the sentence reads 'was . . . . close of his time.' There are several difficulties in the 9th line, but the expression at the end throws some light on that in the 147th chapter of the Ritual reading  *hebs bakau*. The first word indicated means 'to clothe,' and the second 'to be naked' or 'humiliated'; but the former word also signifies 'to reckon' or 'number,' and the latter 'fault'; and, as it applies to the Halls of the Elysium, must refer to the embalming or judgement of the dead.

The Vignette on the 2nd page represents the mummy of the deceased laid out, attended by Anup (or Anubis) and Apheru. The Text reads: 'The 10th Epiphi was the Purification on the whole earth. His form wished to proceed to the heaven directly . . . . It was not sent to the Place of new Birth daily, it was purified, it did not pass the Pool . . . . the funeral in all places at their time. It was at rest in the Plants (?) of the good Fields; it made its transformations, it had the place in a moment, victorious against the enemies of the Eyes on the first day. He is not seen by Osiris humiliating the limbs emanating from him, prepared through the words passed by Anubis, going as those never at rest to [Ru]Sta. His heart follows all other things. Thou comest with the concealed ones at the close of millions. Thy soul comes forth as a phœnix, thy heart appears as a hawk, an ibis is in thy body, as a kite and as a vulture, flying like the soul of the great Bull. Oh! the good one who has gone to repose; oh! the good one who goes round the pylons of the horizon. I place thy arms on thy belly, as was done to father Osiris. Thy arms (or limbs) are prepared by him who is on the Hill, under the form of the chief of the funeral. A road for thy impurity is made in the ocean, for thy impurity is given to the winds. Amset rejoices to embalm him. Hapi delights to obliterate his faults. Tuautmutf delights at the healing of his faults. Kabhsnuf rejoices that he has passed from the Place of Preparation. Thy arms are laid out, made in the shape of the arms of the Osiris, brother of the *maha* (cousin) of the king, [the *khem* Sebau,] son of the . . . . priest of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, born of the lady of the house Tapamentu.'

The commencement of this page is obscure, and scarcely anything is to be made of it till the 3rd line. In this line is mentioned the  *shenp*, apparently a kind of plant. Throughout this Papyrus the form  *au* displaces the usual  *em* as the instrumental or locative; and, as in the 6th line, *Sta* is here universally substituted for the *Rusta*. The doctrines regarding the transformations of the deceased are remarkable. The soul of the deceased is described as coming out or off in the shape of the *bennu* or phœnix, which is known from other texts to be that of the soul of Osiris; the heart of the deceased changes into the shape of a hawk, which is occasionally mentioned in antithesis to the *bennu* or phœnix, and is the emblem of Horus; the ibis, living emblem of Thoth, is either a form of the heart, or else that which is in the chest or body of the deceased, in which also are the  *ter*, τρε, a kind of kite or vulture, and the *nrau* or vulture, emblem of Mut; or the sentence reads, 'the soul passes in thy body in form of a kite or vulture.' The rest of the text refers to the actions performed for the dead by Anubis the divine embalmer of Osiris, and his four assistants the so called Genii of the Dead, the sons of Osiris. Hapi  *neka* 'averts' his defects. Tuautmutf  *sen nu* 'cures' his faults. The four forms of delight, *haa*, *teheh*, *au*, *naham*, are used here; for the scribe has carefully avoided all tautology.

Pl. II. — The Vignette of the 3rd page represents the mummy of the deceased laid out on the *bari* or sepulchral barge, traversing the Nile or some other stream. At the head of the boat is the goddess Isis lamenting, and at the foot Nephthys in the same attitude. The Text may be considered a continuation of the previous page:

'Thou comest forth rejoicing from the Place of Punishment, for thou hast thrown open the Annu, ... for after the 36 days thou camest forth. I steeped thee in the great Pool of Chonsu, in peace behind the Rusta in the region of the West, opening Annu at the 30th (?) day. Passing their arms to the god, the four born of Horus placed their hands (?) on his head. The legs, the two arms, the waist, the back were at rest for 30 days in the Place of Washing of Isis the great mother. She took care to make the good funeral of the brother of the house, *khem* (usher) Sebau, son of the priest of Mentu Ra, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, born of Tapamentu, who was boiled in 206 jars of salt, also in frankincense, anointed with oil by Horus, lord of the Tomb. . . . m has wrapped him in his divine linen. Thy (his) limbs are wrapped in the fabrics of the gods and goddesses. Anup prepares the decoration of thy sarcophagus, and with the jars of menni which the gods produce in the East, and cedar oil . . . steeped again in (?) delicious essence of noble balm,

fragrance in all thy limbs. Thy body is enclosed in the best fabrics, coming forth at first to see the youthful Suḥ when he lifts his beauties from the Pool on the 26th of Mesori. Thou hast been equipped with all the decorations of the Osirian brother divine . . . . usher (?) Sebau, son of the governor of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), priest of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, the name of whose mother is Tapamentu.'

Throughout this Papyrus the form  is displaced by  , perhaps through the fault or ignorance of the scribe, but is yet remarkable if the phonetic value of this group is *per*. The action at the Pool of Chons, line 2, is  *nebt*, 'dipped' or 'bandaged.' This pool it appears was behind the Rusta, or plains, or gate, leading to the Western horizon. The writing at the end of the 3rd line is confused and difficult to decipher. In the 4th line occurs the word  *tanihu*, 'arms.' These with the other parts of the body noticed before were in the Wash-house of Isis, who is described as charged with the embalmment of the deceased. It is remarkable to find here specified the quantity of salt employed, amounting to 206 jars, the bitumen and oil are also mentioned. The 9th line states that the deceased was placed in the coffin with  , 'gifts' or 'jars,' which came from the gods of the East, and mentions cedar oil and other substances. The final preparations, it appears, were not completed till the 20th Mesori.

The Vignette of the 4th page represents the Judgement scene as depicted at the time of the Romans. The mummy of the deceased is held up by Anubis; 'Osiris who dwells in the West, lord of the Ta-ser,' is seated on the throne in his usual form, his body bandaged, his hand holding the crook and whip, while he wears on his head the *atf* or peculiar cap having on each side a feather, emblem of his power over the two Truths. Behind stands 'Thoth, lord of Truth, the Bull' or 'male of the West,' ibis-headed, wearing the lunar disk, followed by Isis and Nephthys, each raising her left hand towards the shoulder of Osiris, and holding a symbol of life in her pendent right hand. The Text of this page reads:

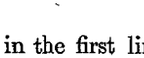
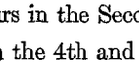
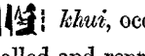
'I am the preparer of the road before all coming to the Place of the poorly clad. I prepare the path for all who tread in the Hall of the two Truths. He is chief of the Place; he goes to lay the head to the lord of Eternity. Thou hast united thy form, thou hast been able to raise up millions; the Osiris, divine brother, raiser of steeds (?), *khem* (usher ?) Sebau, son of the chief of the soldiers in Southern Annu (Hermonthis), priest of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, the name of whose mother is Tapamentu. I pass thy words before the lord of the West; thou hast beheld the light, at the raising of his beauties. I declare thy virtues before his two sisters. I declare thy praise amongst the prepared spirits. I hail thy form in the Rusta, in the abode of Oa-mut. Thou hast been allowed to be fabricated in thy house daily. After thou art let to be prepared in thy city, thou art enshrouded in all beauty thou wishest, without diminution in thy time, not doing any evil in thy day. Thou hast ruled on earth; thy house was open, no evil was said in it daily. Thou hast ranged through the Hades for thy heart, seeking for it everywhere, thy limbs are weary through the work. Thou walkest in the Gateway of the Horizon while thou passest thy time; thou art clad as a person in white, for the good things thou hast done on earth; thou hast been given leisure (or a 'tomb') in Hades. Thou hast had a salted embalmment, and linen fabrics for thy limbs of the best linen. Anup has prepared thee in thy coffin, thy soul flourishes in thy body in thy house, thou livest again in thy sepulchre, thou goest and comest before the lord of Eternity.'

There are not many philological difficulties in this page. In the 2nd line is the word  *nebt*, 'to knit' or 'noose,' which occurs often in the Ritual. In the 6th and 12th lines the word *abut*, 'abode,' occurs. The determinative of the word *hanu* in the 7th line is unknown to me, except that it may mean 'to enshrine' or 'place in a box'; and the phrase 'not shame-faced in  *ruka*' is unknown, unless it is only a variation of *rek*, 'time, period of rule.' The word  *anmt* also only occurs here; it appears from the context and determinative to be an evil of some kind. The word *tena-samen*, line 9, which occurs in the hieratic papyri,[1] appears to have the meaning of 'undone' or 'wrong.' The word  , which occurs here in an unusual form, refers to the sepulchral chamber the deceased had in the Hades. The word  *s-gamu*, line 11, occurs here and elsewhere in the sense of 'enwrap.' In the 12th line, *kher*, 'sepulchre,' has an unusual determinative.

[1] Select Papyri, Pl. xliv. 5, lxxviii. 8, cxv. 5, 9; Rosellini, M. C. cx. 1.

Pl. III. — The Vignette of the 5th page represents Osiris, the ruler of the West. Standing mummied at the left side, immediately before him, is the *bennu* or nycticorax, emblem of the soul of Osiris, perched on the tamarisk of the god. In front stands Anubis, jackal-headed, holding in each hand a papyrus sceptre surmounted by a human head; he is called 'Anubis working,' or 'renewing.' Before Anubis stands Mentu-Sebauf, the deceased, mummied. The Text reads:

'The great god opens his mouth, his words come in peace following him; his things . . . . . remain daily. Thou passest thy time in it, thou hast gone after Astennu, thou followest to the Place of the Horizon, gleaming in gold, a great god, augmenting his form. The breath of living again comes, making thee behold peace for ever after. Thou hast passed thy years, thou hast closed thy time of a good life; thou treadest in the region of the breath of life, thou breathest in it and remainest in thy sepulture or thy apartment within thy house; thou art renewed as the gods dwelling there, thou hast opened the good Place of the close of Millions, thou . . . . . hast the divine boat of Kar neter (Hades). Thou adorest the lord of Eternity with his sister Isis, kissing his face; thou prostratest thyself all round the place, giving glory where the lord of Eternity is. Thou turnest thy face to the region of the hidden ones in Kar neter (Hades); thou honourest the lord who watches millions of the Land of Life; thou makest adoration to his good face, adoring the excellent one at rest in his good place; he gives thy spirit its breath. Thou addressest thy prayers to the chief of the gods and men; he gives thy soul to pass into thy body, to speak as thou didst before, to dwell in all the places where the gods are. The gods of the Orbits adore thee, saying thou art the best of prepared spirits; they rejoice to see thy form, rising in its shapes, dressed in linen. Thy limbs are enwrapt by the work of Anai, salted by the arms of Am, passing the doors of the Hall of the two Truths; thy fore and hinder parts are mummied like the gods in their shapes. Oh! Osirian brother, Sebau, son of Menkara, priest of Mentu, born of Tapamentu.'

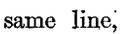
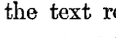
The word  in the first line is unintelligible. The phrase  occurs in the Second Papyrus; the end of the line is, perhaps, 'passing his gate.' The doubtful word *sen sen*, supposed to mean 'transmigration,' but more probably 'to breathe,' occurs in the 4th and 9th lines. The word  *barp* in the 5th line is new, but must mean 'thou hast moved,' or 'concluded.'  *sen nu*, line 6, apparently means 'thou hast crawled' or 'passed.'  *buk* appears to refer to some honour rendered to the elevated lord of the land of millions of lives, as 'thou honourest.' The phonetic form of 'spirit,'  *khui*, occurs in the 12th line. In the 11th line is  *abu*, 'to dress' or 'clothe,' and in the 13th line  *ub*, for 'clothes.' The god Astennu is a form of Thoth, who is so called and represented ibis-headed at a late period.[1] Anai is the goddess of linen. The name of the god who prepared the deceased is here apparently *Am*, but it resembles *Maget*, a deity mentioned in the Ritual.

The Vignette of this page, the 6th, represents the Purification of the mummy of the deceased, which is placed in the centre on a kind of pedestal, while Anup, or Anubis, and Apheru pour libations from vases over the body. Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys stand on the left of the picture, as spectators looking on. In the scenes of Purification, at an earlier period, this office is performed by Thoth and Horus, but the prevalent god of this age appears to be Anubis. The Text reads:

'The chapter of the Purification made by Horus and Thoth. Horus says thou art purified at thy going in Hades or the gateway of the Ta-ser, to see that great god in Hades. There is not any evil in thee, Thoth hath dipped thee, thou art dressed in thy bandages, all thy limbs are salted. There is nothing revolting to a god in thee; there is no pollution in thy limbs. Thou hast been washed in the waters which emanate from Abu (Elephantine), with the things (?) of Horus which come from Nubu (Syene), with the milk (?) of Kami. Thy soul lives like the lord of Grief, thy body like the soul above. Thy limbs are excellent like those of Unnefer, thy mummy is set up like Samaut. Thou hast been received in the Hall of the two Truths. Thy soul comes out to the heaven with Orion, and the stars in the train of the Dogstar; they let thee breathe the air within thy envelope, thy lungs breathe the breath of life; they let thy teeth chatter in thy chest like the fly coming from the end of the nostril of life, giving thee thy place (or throne) like the secret

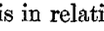
[1] Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iv. Bl. 30, d.

fire under the flame, living again at the nostril of the Cycle. Thou goest and comest before the meekhearted; thou receivest libations at the hands of Isis and Nephthys. Thou art placed on thy tomb in front of . . . as. The heaven under the form of Athor, regent of the West, gives her arms to receive thee. Thou goest backwards every ten days. Thy soul lives off the flux which emanates from Osiris to the arms of Amenapt. Thou passest into the Hades daily to receive the cakes in the hands, coming forth peaceably from Gammut by the aid of Chonsu, in Gam Neferhept, saying thou hast glorified thy father and mother, thou hast glorified thy brethren, thy heart is washed, thy limbs are washed. The Osirian brother, divine Sebauf, son of the governor of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), priest of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu, Menkara, son of Tapamentu.'

In the 4th line is  *akabu*, perhaps a later form of 'grief.' In the 7th line *sen sen*, 'to breathe' or 'transmigrate,' occurs as a variant of *sensen* already mentioned.  *khemmti*, in the same line, is apparently the 'lungs,' or that part of the body supposed to receive the breath of life. The following word, *atb*, occurs elsewhere in the sense of 'teeth.'[1]  *teb teb* must mean 'to fly,' or 'flutter;' for it is compared in line 9 to  *abb*, 'a fly,' escaping from the nose of a living person. Now this seems to show that the text refers to the passage of the breath or air from the chest in which the deceased was laid. In line 8 following, the deceased is said to remain under like the  *amani*, 'hidden fire'; having the  *shamm*, 'heat' or 'warmth.' But the whole is unintelligible, and receives no illustration from the Ritual. In this same line *au* is clearly used for *er*, 'in order to,' and is equivalent to the Coptic which had displaced the archaic *er*.

Pl. IV.—The Vignette of the 7th page represents Osiris as the mystical Tat, or Nilometer, standing, having a head surmounted by plumes. He is called 'Osiris, lord of Tattu.' In front of Osiris the mummy of the deceased is placed upright, while his mother, in the attitude of lamentation, follows. Behind them is the jackal of Anubis, couchant on the usual standard. This is called 'the Gods watching over Osiris.' The Text reads:

'Hail the one placed upon earth, going to the end of time, a long time on earth with a good life, not giving evil transmigrations of life in thy heart. The little babe . . . when it went to Hades. Thy shape is thy power on earth, thou obtainest thy victories by it. Thou doest all things thy heart wishes. All beings are prostrate before thee; no falsehood is said before thee daily, because the head of the earth thou hast trod in it; the great child who guards the . . . . ., the chief of gods and men, the greatest of the gods of the Empyreal Gate, the divine creator of the gods, their chief, ordering the navigation, leading along the gods. Mayst thou rejoice with the wise spirits! Thou art with the servants of Osiris, they adore (?) thy body seeing thy beauty; thou art enrolled among the ministers of Osiris. Thou criest with a loud voice: "Hail, my father, Osiris! I am one making his heart, I did no wicked crime, there is no fault in me, hating thy form in my time. Truth was diffused through my heart, I gave bread to him who was destitute, I eating the food before me. I stand before Astennu, I have bent down in the Land of the lord of the Weight and guardian of the Balance, I stand before the two Truths as one very excellent before them. My form returns to serve, my form is as the great blessed of the Gate of the Ta-ser." Thou beholdest thy father Socharis-Osiris on the morning of the festival of Socharis in the Gate; at thy glorifications he has received thee with delight, the Osiris brother of the *khem* Sebauf, son of the governor of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), priest of Mentu Ra, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, son of Tapamentu.'

The text of this page is very difficult. *nekhekh*, in the 2nd line, occurs in the Ritual apparently in the sense of 'rule' or 'power.' The form  *setbu*, in the same line, is also a new word, but here is in relation with the actions of the deceased; it appears to mean that he had 'shown' or 'exhibited his power on earth.' In the 3rd line,  *petsh* is used in the sense of 'to be extended.' Line 5 has some difficult forms. The 8th line is evidently the hieroglyphic  *enti*, 'no, not,' or 'destitute,' from the

[1] Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. Bl. 266. f. It is, however, more often used for the 'wall' or 'side.'

well-known variants of this passage. The meaning of the subsequent phrase is obscure, owing to the difficulty of deciphering the hieroglyphic form of the first symbol in the 9th line. The form  *tekh* in the same line, which has the balance, shows that the value of this word, as 'weight' or 'scale,' as hitherto deduced, is correct.

There only remains now to consider the final pages of these Papyri, which contain the so called 'Book of the Transmigrations of Isis.' This work, one of a later age, sometimes occurs in connection with mummies of the Ptolemaic period. Several examples are known, and these are occasionally illustrated with the vignette of the 125th chapter of the Funeral Ritual, and sometimes have the negative confession inserted; in fact, it appears to be a supplementary portion of a later period, and one of the more recent of the Hermetic books. Its mystical object was to revive Osiris, and its scope is fully detailed in the 1st section of the book. But it is not to be inferred that the book itself was thought to have been written or composed by Isis, for all divine and inspired works were supposed to be either dictated or actually written by Thoth or Hermes. With respect to the title of the work itself there is some ambiguity, as the word *sen sen* is equally capable of being interpreted 'the inspiration,' or 'breath,' or rather 'sighs,' connecting it with the well-known Hermetic book of ancient writers, entitled 'The Lamentations of Isis.' As the 'Book of the Transmigrations' had protected Osiris after death, and had during the preparation of his limbs kept his soul from passing away, so it was supposed to do for the deceased. The 'Book of Transmigrations' attached to this Papyrus is not an exact copy of the 'Lamentations of Isis' published by Brugsch, but another version of the same book. Many of the expressions, in fact, in the previous part of the Papyrus, are taken from the 'Book of Transmigrations,' which appears at the Roman period to have superseded the older 'Book of the Dead,' or 'Litanies of the Sun.'

The Vignettes of the 8th page represent Osiris adored by the four genii of the Amenti, but not in their proper order, Kabhsnuf being placed first, Hapi second, Amset third, and Tuantmutf last. The Text reads:

'The Book of the Transmigrations of Thoth to protect thee. Thou art not turned back from the Hall of Osiris. Thou risest at morning from the cabin, in the faces of all men come to see thee; thou sittest in the hind cabin at evening, all men and women then adore thee. Thou hast tied the pendant with all precious stones, silver and gold innumerable. Thy soul comes forth from heaven, it adores the Sun when he rises. Thou receivest this writing made by Astennu, when he went from the Gate of the Empyreal region. Thou livest for ever; thou reachest the first Hall of the West, led by the gods giving thee a road. Horus and A (Thoth) purify thee going in peace: for the principal gods of the Empyreal region adore thy approach to the house of him who dwells in the West, magnifying thy preparation before all men. The four children of Horus are before thee adoring the lord of Eternity; their arms turn back to his face. Amset, Hapi, Tuautmutf, Kabhsenuf, say: "We come to our father when he approaches the Kar neter, or Hades; he did no evil in his day. We drink of the waters daily, we eat its fowl and its fish as our hearts wish. We feed off the best and repose on the best. We make the place of those who are before us. We grow old on earth, we tread the Hades, we declare his goodness before the lord of the Empyreal region. He listens to our words, the lord of the West." Thou art praised for ever, thou art made for ever, he lets thee flourish in thy closed house. The Osiris brother, royal watcher of the stud, the *khem* Sebauf, son of the governor of Southern Annu, priest of Mentu, Menkara, son of Tapamentu.'

There are very few philological expressions of any importance in this page. In the 10th line the word *setbu*, which occurred in the 2nd line of the previous page, evidently means 'to drink.' In the 11th line, the word following *ru*, a kind of water-fowl, is determined by 'fish,' and may possibly be *rami*, the usual word for fish, but does not much resemble it. The word *netbu*, in line 12, which is difficult, has here from the context the sense of 'to respond' or 'listen to,' for the subsequent phrase is the answer which the god makes to the address of the four genii. The determinative appears to be an ear.

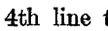
Pl. V.—The Vignette of the subsequent page, the 9th, represents Osiris on the left hand, seated upon his throne, having the mummy of the deceased placed before him. Behind this scene are two biers, each holding a mummy; the head of the first is inverted, and looks towards the adoration scene; that of the other mummy is in the usual supine position, but the arm of the mummy comes out of the bandages. The head of each bier terminates in a snake, instead of the usual leonine form. The Text beneath it reads:

'That great god opens his mouth to the words of the gods, at peace through them his heart is correct. May he follow orders! May his soul go forth to heaven with the other souls! may his body remain in the Empyreal Gate! He has had given to him food off the table daily. Isis turns and says to Nephthys, rejoicing her face. The gods of the Gateway also give divine offerings to the Osirian divine brother, *khem* Sebauf, son of the chief of the soldiers in Southern Annu (Hermonthis), priest of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, born of Tapamentu. Osiris who dwells in the West, great god, lord of Abydos; Socharis-Osiris who dwells in the void; Isis the great mother-goddess and Nephthys the sister-goddess; Anup who dwells in the divine hall and is attached to the embalmment, lord of Ta-ser; the gods of the two Truths in the great hall, the gods of the orbit who traverse the Empyreal region, the great wise spirits of the Hades, the gods and goddesses give meals of food and drink, oxen and geese, wine and milk, incense and salt, bread, grain, corn, and food, all good things off which a god lives, for the Osirian divine brother, standard-bearer Sebauf, son of the lord, the chief commander of troops in Southern Annu (Hermonthis), priest of Menkara, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, born of Tapamentu. The light of the Sun shines upon his body, its rays follow his divine limbs, his soul goes to the heaven and follows the disk, he is united with the followers of Osiris, he is . . . in his service. He left a son and a daughter to offer after him, he does not fail on earth for ever.'

There is little to observe on this page, but the phraseology of the 1st line is difficult. Here is a difficult phrase, *hept her s sa pu*, 'it is at peace in it,' or 'through them,' the divine words. 'His heart,' it says, 'is correct: may it listen to the orders!' That is, supposing the form *semut* to signify 'to listen,' or 'to attend.'

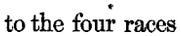
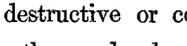
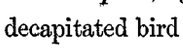
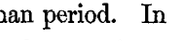
The Vignette of the 10th page represents the Judgement scene before Osiris, behind whom stand Isis and Nephthys. The deceased is led into his presence by Truth and Thoth, followed by two goddesses holding papyri sceptres, and two gods holding the kukupha sceptre or gam. The Text of this page is not connected with the preceding, it reads:

'Oh, gods and goddesses unmentionable! ascribe ye the truth, obliterate ye the faults of the Osirian divine brother, *khem* Sebauf, son of the governor of the city, prophet of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, the name of whose mother was Tapamentu, justified. Place ye the heart in his chest, open ye his eyes, unclose his mouth, give passage to his nostrils, make his arms as strong as those of Unnefer, let his soul go forth to heaven where it wishes to be, let him not be turned away from any region in which he wishes to be. May his body be daily as the universal lord! His heart is in all places in which his existence wishes to be. Oh, Sun! oh, Atum! oh, Shu! oh, Tefnu! oh, Seb! oh, Nu! oh, Osiris! oh, Isis! oh, Nephthys! oh, Horus! oh, Athor! oh, greater gods! oh, lesser gods! oh, Never at rest! oh, Incorruptible! oh, Constellation of the southern heaven! oh, Birthplace star of the northern heaven! oh, Dogstar, ruler of stars! Bast, great lady of (Bu)Bastis! great Tat! great Boat! Athor, regent of the West! Seb, lord of the gods! Thoth, lord of Truth, Bull in the West! guard ye the Osiris divine brother, the *khem* Sebauf, son of the chief of the city, priest of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu, Menkara, born of Tapamentu; tie your charms on him, let him come forth justified, give delicious breath to his nostril daily, that he may do what he wishes wherever he goes. By the words of Ra the great god in his disk, or the words of Isis the great mother-goddess, the god of the Sun in his own name, ordered is what he has said, all that proceeds out of his mouth is done forthwith.'

In the 4th line the word  has clearly the meaning of 'arms' or 'limbs.' The form in the 5th line is obscure, it appears to be a verb governing the word heart; such as 'may he place his heart daily'; the following words are perhaps *er ubn*, 'at the rise.'

Pl. VI.—The Vignette of the 11th and last page represents a final Judgement. Osiris is seated on his throne, having behind him Isis and Nephthys standing; before him are a heap of viands, and Thoth, ibis-headed, recording the judgement. Behind Thoth is a jackal couchant on a pylon gateway, having in front the sceptre *kherp*, and behind that of the *Abt* or East. Behind Anubis is the profile of a coffin of the Roman period, with a vaulted cover. At the bottom of the coffin is a representation of the goddess Nu, or the Heaven; who is usually painted on the flat board of coffins of this age, on which the mummies are laid. In her arms she holds the mummy of the deceased, while the soul in shape of a hawk flies down to it; being a variety of the vignette of the 99th chapter of the Ritual, representing the union of the soul and body. The Text of this page reads:

'The Osirian divine brother, *khem* Sebauf, son of the divine workman of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Mentu, priest of Mentu Ra, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, born of Tapamentu, living for ever. His soul flourishes at the rising and setting, like the subjects of the gods in their time who have a place in the abode of the lord of the gods daily; his name is heard of in the Place of the gods, who give breath to his person daily. The paintings of thy mother Nupe are within the abode, having come in peace to dwell in thy chest. The abode of thy heart is eternal. My arms unfold to embrace thy limbs, protecting thy body, taking care of thy great mummy, giving life to thy soul for ever. The Osirian divine brother, *khem* Sebauf, son of the divine builder of Annu, Mentu, prophet of Mentu Ra, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, son of Tapamentu. The greater and lesser gods come to thee, to be thy protection, to watch over thy height and length, and to lead thee in thy sepulchre in Gammut. The children of Horus keep watch over thee by night and day continually. Thou art made young in thy length and breadth by making to thee living charms as do those to him who dwells in the West, the great god, lord of the East, in the festivals of Socharis. The gods and spirits who pass the Gate have come to thee. Thou hast taken the good way to the West. They open to thee the gates of the Empyreal region in the Western Horizon. Thou comest and goest out of it. They give thee drink and food off the altars of Osiris daily, they have opened to thee the heaven rejoicing, Anup in the recesses of the Hall embalming thee. Thou goest with thy legs in the footwalks of Hades, as if thou wast upon earth, smiting the heads of thy enemies, justified before Osiris.'

The philological portion of this page offers more interest than the preceding. It terminates also the 'Book of the Transmigrations' and the Papyrus. In the 2nd line is the word *reku*, 'time,' which occasionally occurs elsewhere. The form  *sef sef*, in line 2, does not appear elsewhere with this determinative, although another form is known of the same word in the text relating to the four races in Hades.[1] The meaning here is probably 'to purge' or 'purify,' and the whole a variation of the form  *sesfi*, 'to consume,'[2] occurring in texts which mention the destructive or consuming influence of fire upon the wicked. In the 5th line is  *peka*, 'to open,' which rarely occurs in a verbal form, the first part being occasionally used for the word *peka*, 'gap,' in the sense of the supposed opening in the horizon through which the sun descended. The head of the bird which determines this group is probably that of a decapitated bird; as the word itself means to 'divide,' it expresses 'my arms separate' to embrace thy limbs. The word  is of frequent occurrence in texts especially of the Roman period. In some texts it undoubtedly has the meaning of 'body,' as proposed by M. Chabas,[3] and even has the determinative of a mummy attached to it;[4] but in other instances the meaning of 'mouth' is also expressed by it.[5]

Pl. VII.—The Second of these Papyri is not so complete as the First, the number of lines in each page is less, and the contents are not of as much importance. The Script is much of the same character. The Vignette of the 1st page represents the deceased lady Taani standing, addressing the god Thoth, ibis-headed, wearing a disk and horns upon his head, emblem of his lunar character. The god wears a collar *uskh*, a tunic *shenti*, bracelets, and armlets; and holds an emblem of life in his pendent right hand. The Text reads as follows:

'In the 19th year, the 26th of Pashons, of the ruler Ptolemy the living, a good day, was born in the house of her father and her mother a good person who was called Taani, daughter of the lord chief prophet of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), a great chief before men, Kalasher, born of the Athorian Aiut, they were her father and mother. She was the lady of the house of the brother of the *mahau* of the ruler, Mentu-Sebauf, son of Menkara. She was the good nurse of her son in his house, and reverenced for what she did.[6] (?) She made her existence in life till she completed her age of 54 years, was . . . .'

The monarch in whose reign Taani was born was Ptolemy XIII. Neos Philopator III. Philadelphus II., or Dionysos. The clue to this date is the 1st year of Augustus Cæsar,

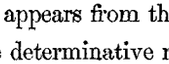
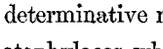
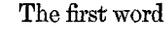
[1] Rosellini, M.R. clv. [2] Pap. Salt, Brit. Mus. 825. Rosellini, M. R. cxxxix. 34.
[3] Papyrus d'Harris, p. 240. [4] Rosellini, M. R. clv. [5] Lepsius, Denkm. iv. 45, e, 67, d.
[6] It appeared to me, on a former examination of the Papyrus, that the name of the female was Tabai; but a comparison of the character 651 with its recurrence in the name of *Ani ras* the Southern Heliopolis, or Hermonthis, proves it to be Taani, the Heliopolitan, or even *Heliopolis*, if translated into Greek. The name of her mother is Aiut, 'she who has come.' That it was so pronounced will be seen from the 8th line of the 5th page. The name Kalasiris means 'young soldier;' *kar* or *kal*, 'warrior,' and *sherau*, 'young.' It was probably derived from the age of the levy.

which fell B.C. 30, in the 295th year of the canon of the Ptolemies; the number of years, therefore, to date back, to find the 19th of the reign of Ptolemy, must be computed from the 21st of Augustus, in which she is said in the next page to have died. This brings the death of Taani down to B.C. 9, and elevates her birth to B.C. 63. Now this year falls in the reign of Ptolemy XIII. Neos Philopator III. Philadelphus II., who ascended the throne B.C. 81, in the 244th year of the canon of the Ptolemies, and deducting the 19 years from 81 gives B.C. 62, one year later; but as the precise date of the accession of Ptolemy Neos Dionysos is unknown, and how long the interregnum lasted after the death of Ptolemy XII., it is evident that the correction depends on the ascertainment of these. According to Ideler, the 1st of Thoth B.C. 63 corresponded to the 26th of September; and as the Ptolemies, like the Cæsars, dated their regnal years from the 1st of Thoth, so as to square them with the current year, the two years must have passed for one in the canon; Ptolemy XIII. last year and Cleopatra VI. 1st alone, or Augustus and Cleopatra, could not count chronologically. Consequently, adding one year gives B.C. 63, because the 1st of Augustus was 9 to 10 B.C. The Ptolemy, indeed, is not designated in this passage by any appellation except the 'great prince,' *a âa*, a term first applied to rulers under the Persians, being the abridged form of the 'two great houses of life,' i.e. the living ruler of the upper and lower country. This term, at first used in a sense equivalent to the modern appellation of 'Court' as applied to European powers, and 'Porte' when designating the Sultan, was in use at the very earliest period of the monarchy. At a later period, and elsewhere, the Egyptian phrase of the 'young Osiris,'[1] by which the Egyptians paraphrased the youthful Bacchus of the Greeks, was introduced into his cartouche.

In the 2nd line it is stated that the day of her birth was 'a good day,' *hru nefer*. Now this phrase 'good day' has in Egyptian two significations. It means that the day of her birth was a good and fortunate day according to the calendar; but, as unluckily the Sallier papyrus is imperfect after the 10th of Pashons, it is not possible to tell if this day was fortunate according to the almanack. It also means that it was the day of a festival or celebration of any kind, and clearly applies to the day of birth as elsewhere; and here it may be remarked that the hieratic has carefully preserved the form of guitar with four pegs, instead of two; the last type having been introduced in the 4th dynasty, and continued till the 21st, so as to become a diacritical sign for undated monuments. The word that follows this expression in the hieratic is *ba*, signifying 'to produce,' or 'give birth to.' In the tablet of the town of Kark[2] it occurs in the place where it states that 'their wives did not *produce*.' In the Ritual, c. 145, line 6, another form *bu*, apparently in the same sense, is found where it is said of the second of the halls of the Aalu or Elysium, 'Mistress of heaven, regent of earth, striking awe by thy bringing forth is thy name.' The context, too, proves the sense in which it is taken, as the Papyrus opens with a paragraph referring to the birth, as the subsequent one does to the death, of the deceased Taani. There is in the 3rd line an unusual employment of , a word generally signifying 'existence,' but here apparently used in the sense of *ka*, 'to call' or 'name,' as the sentence runs *ka s pu en Taani*, 'her name it was Taani,' for it can scarcely be said 'her existence (i.e. the existence of the good person) was Taani': nor can it refer to the name of the mother, 'whose name was that of Taani;' for, as will be hereafter seen, the name is that of the person born. Her father was the Kalasher or Kalasiris mentioned in the former Papyrus. He is here stated to be the *repa* or 'lord,' the *ha* or 'chief,' the priest of Mentu, lord of *An Ras*, or Southern Heliopolis, by which the city of Hermonthis, adjoining to Thebes, is designated; and he was also *aa em rekhu*, 'greatest of mortals.' He was born of Aiut, a lady devoted to or resembling Athor, a phrase found as early as the Ptolemies to designate deceased females, the name of Athor having superseded at this time that of Osiris, applied previously to both males and females. Now, although logically the sense of the subsequent passage is clear, the form of expression is by no means so. It is stated that she was made the daughter of her father; but this can only be in the sense of inheriting, or being adopted into the revenues of, his estates or office. What her husband was is not quite so evident. He was brother of the *mahau* of the king: but the meaning of this word is, as already stated, doubtful.

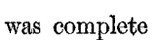
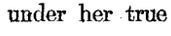
The first part of the phrase seems to be , 'brother,' which would appear to justify the idea that he had some connection with the family of the monarch as step-brother or foster-brother. The word *mahu* has been supposed to mean 'care' or 'attention,'[3] and it occurs in many passages and forms, as applied to those who are attached or devoted to the Sun,[4] and in the similar form [5] In a tablet of the Heretic kings, an officer, speaking of his own merits, says, 'I did not

[1] Lepsius, Ueber einige Ergebnisse der Aegyptischen Denkmaler, 4to. Berl. 1853, p. 51.
[2] Tablet, Eg. Gall. Brit. Mus. No. 137.
[3] De Rougé, Journal As. 1850, p. 525.
[4] Lepsius, Todt. v. 15, 19.
[5] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 242.

attend on account of what he (the king) paid me';[1] but, as he had just previously stated, 'had made my heart dwell on,' or 'paid particular attention to, what he (the king) told me.' That the *mahau* were persons of high rank about the monarch appears from the form  ,[2] where it is accompanied by the determinative of a figure of a man holding a wand or staff; and from another form, that of  *maha*,[3] where the determinative resembles that of the word *ser*, a word also found with the determinative of chief, showing that the *mahau* were persons of consequence, either the tutors or body-guard, somatophylaces, who had the care of the king's person. Although the name of this functionary is given as Mentu-Sebauf in this Papyrus, it will be recollected that it occurs as Sebau only in the former. There is, however, no difficulty in perceiving that the two names have been blended together; for as early as the 19th dynasty persons had a name and surname, and the practice was continued under the Ptolemies. There is some difficulty in knowing what was the part performed by Aiut in the house of her son. It is said she became  in his house. The first word is already known to signify *riru*, 'a nurse'; the second word has the ordinary signification of 'good' or 'well': but, as no children of the son are mentioned, whether she herself was well nursed, or whether she occupied the post of mistress of his house, and added to her merits by the care she took of his family, does not seem clear. The subsequent phrase is *au uteb her sau ar s*, 'she made offerings for what,' or 'after what, she did,' or 'those who came after did it.' In another monument of this period, the tablet of Pasherienptah,[4] the trussed water-fowl is also found in the sense of offering. In the 6th line is an address to those who approach the tomb: 'Hail those who approach this chamber, inscribe ye the name in the golden chamber of the gods, in all the festivals of the West: offer '*uteb*' ye to me libations of sweet water and burning incense.' The sense of this passage consequently appears to be that she was well taken care of by the filial piety of her son, and that offerings were made to her by him after her death.

The Vignette of the 2nd page represents the mummy of the deceased Taani stretched at full length on its sepulchral bier, which is generally made in shape of a lion, here rudely indicated, the tail of the animal curling over the mummy's feet. At the foot of the bier stands Anubis, jackal-headed, and wearing the pschent, or crown of the upper and lower worlds, upon his head; he extends his right hand towards the bier, as if addressing the mummy. The Text of this page reads:

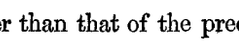
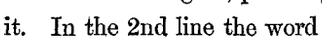
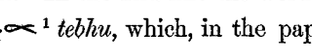
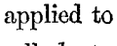
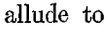
'On the 21st year the 28th Mesori, the day of the reign of Cæsar was complete . . . was the evil day of the being on earth of the daughter of the archon in Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Taani the wife of the divine architect [?] of Annu and Mentu (Hermonthis), the priest of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), brother of the king's *mahau*, Kalasher, son of Menkara, child of the Athorian lady Aiut. A place in the region of Akar was ordered to be made for her; she was enrolled in the Empyreal regions by the title which is in heaven and on earth, having her age amongst gods and men, under her true title of reverencing what was ordered of the gods, hating iniquity, honouring what was commanded, a true being. The embalmment of the wife of the royal officer of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), the brother of the guardian of the king, Taani, daughter of Kalasher, born of the Athorian Aiut, was made.'

The philological difficulties of this page are very great. In the 1st line the meaning of the expression  *hart aa*, 'great house' or 'Emperor,' as applied to the reign of Cæsar, is unknown. The demotic reads simply in 'the 21st year, 28th Mesori, of Cæsar,' as if the expression *hart* merely referred to the day, or was a repetition of the expression year. The expression after 'evil day,' in the 2nd line, is also obscure; it reads 'of her head,' or 'upon earth.' The word  *buai* occurs only at the Roman period as a municipal office, apparently that of 'archon,' and occurs as such on the coffin of Soter in the British Museum and elsewhere, sometimes with the determinative of a head,[5] at others with that of a man raising his arms,[6] but more generally, as in the present instance, with a man holding a stick.[7] The phrase in the 5th and 6th lines seems to express that those who were in the Empyreal region have knitted or *nebt*, 'tied,' the title in heaven and on earth; nor is the phrase following, or that in the subsequent line, much clearer, where the difficult word *sems*, often met with in the titles of persons, occurs, perhaps here it refers to the god 'hating iniquity and *honouring* the orders which she had to obey.'

[1] Prisse, Mon. xvii. l. 14. [2] Lepsius, Denkm. ii. 150, a. [3] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 262, b. [4] Prisse, Mon. pl. xxxi. l. 6. [5] Sarc. of Nekhtherhebi, Eg. Gal. Brit. Mus. No. 10.
[6] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 72 [7] Prisse, Mon. pl. xxx. It is the Alexandrian *βόων*, custodia. Stephani Thesaurus a Valpy, fol. Lond. 1816—1818, vol. i. p. cccIxviii.

Pl. VIII.—The Vignette of the 3rd page represents the body of Taani laid out on the funeral bier, and attended by the two forms of Anubis, Anup and Apheru, both jackal-headed, wearing pschents, and extending their arms towards the bier. She is depicted, it will be observed, as dead, but not embalmed, being dressed in her ordinary attire. The Text reads as follows :

"Approaching the Akar, was survivor of her husband for 48 days, going the Washing-place at the end of the time. The inscription was engraved on the coffin of the deceased. All the forms were done for bearing her in the Place of Truth, all in the . . . . opened at their time. I come forth rejoicing as the day, rowed by . . . of the great Pool of Chonsu, all my limbs steeped in the Washing-place by the work of Anup who belongs to the embalmment, and is lord of the Gate of Ta-ser, who adorned my muscles, who made my skin united, who fashioned my bones, who made my arms youthful in the Gate of the Horizon. The good lady Taani, wife of Kalasher, born of the Athorian Aiut, mistress of the house of the brother of the royal *mahau* Mentu-Sebauf.'

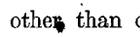
The general purport of this page is clearer than that of the preceding. The first word to consider is  . It will be seen from the former Papyrus that her husband died in the 21st year of Augustus, and that he was embalmed from the 10th to the 16th Epiphi. Deducting 47 days from the 28th Mesori gives 28 days of Mesori + 20 days of Epiphi, leaving the 48th day, or 20th Epiphi, for the death of her husband. This consequently shows that the phrase must have reference to her widowhood, or the time she survived to lament her husband. Now the lock of hair is determinative of ideas connected with grief, probably from the tearing of the hair in that passion, and is found after *akabi* 'to lament,' and *khara* 'a widow,' and the form *amhu* must have some relation with it. In the 2nd line the word  is new, and should refer to some part of the funeral preparation prior to the deposit in the sepulchre. In the 4th line is the word  [1] *tebhu*, which, in the papyrus Sallier,[2] signifies 'crown,' and here appears in connection with the Pool of Chons which is mentioned in the 'Book of the Lamentations of Isis.' The various operations of the embalmment are here detailed : that of the skin is said to be  *at*, the root of which appears in several senses.  *at* seems to have the sense of 'fat' or 'grease,' or some similar substance, and is applied to objects preserved or pickled in some manner. At a later period  [3] *at* appears as the equivalent of the well-known verb *shat*, 'to cut,' and in this sense it might allude to the incision made in the flank of the mummy for the purpose of extracting the viscera. The meaning of the expression after the word 'horizon' is obscure.

The Vignette of the 4th page represents the deceased Taani wearing the usual tunic '*basui*' and collar '*uskh*,' having long hair '*namms*,' and wearing on her head a conical ornament and lotus flowers. Anubis, jackal-headed, and dressed as in the previous vignettes, wearing the pschent on his head, takes hold of her by the right hand, and introduces her into the presence of Osiris the dweller of the West, who is represented standing at the other end of the picture mummied, wearing the atf on his head, and holding the crook and whip in his hands ; he wears a kind of cloak behind him. The Text of this page reads :

'She turns back to Isis. She was buried as or by the daughter of her father. The lady Taani, the daughter of the brother of the *mahau* of the great house (king) Kalashiri, born of the Athorian Aiut, lady of the house (wife) of the brother of the *mahau* of the great house Mentu-Sebauf. She was prepared in salt at Mut ; she was prepared in bitumen, frankincense, and in the Hall of the West, by Horus lord of the sepulchral chamber ; Sahem tied her with his divine fingers. Thy limbs were wrapped in the fabric of the gods and goddesses, Anup prepared thee by steeping thy limbs in salt and linen. I come forth, my body is adorned with the ornaments and in the type of the goddess Athor, the ruler of the West. I see the young Sun raising his beauties, lost in his waters on the 26th of the month Choiak ; he orders me, receives me a prepared [spirit].'

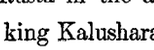
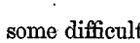
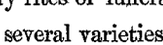
The text contains many difficulties. What is meant by the 'turning back,' or 'return, of Isis' is by no means clear ; nor is the phrase, 'as was done,' or 'as does, the mother of

[1] Select Papyri. [2] Tablet, British Mus. No. 588. [3] Coffin, Brit. Mus. No. 32. Cf. Rosellini, M. d. C. xxi.

the divine . . . ' other than obscure. In the 5th line is the phrase  *sgam*, 'to make to envelope,' or 'to roll up,' the radical form of which, *gam*, appears elsewhere in a similar sense, or as the equivalent of *gama*, a 'roll,' a 'volume.' In the 7th line is another phrase connected with the wrapping of the limbs of the dead, probably referrible to the Coptic ιεß, 'work,' in the sense of the manipulation or pickling of the limbs in *merh*, or salt, the preliminary operation to covering them with bitumen. The latter part of this page should perhaps read: 'I behold the youthful Sun raising or transporting the beauty of his boat in his lake.' This, of course, refers to the rising sun; but there is a date attached to it, the 26th of Choiak, which at the time of Augustus must have fallen on the 2nd of December. As she died on the 28th of Mesori, or 26th of August, it cannot possibly refer to the time she was in the hands of the embalmers, but must be connected with some of the solar festivals, probably with the fact of this day being the shortest in the year.

Pl. IX.—The Vignette of the 5th page represents the deceased in the same dress as already described, facing Anubis, who is jackal-headed and wears the pschent; he stands facing her, holding her by the hand, and introduces her into the presence of Osiris, who stands as ruler of the West, wearing on his head the atf, and holding the crook and whip. On each side is one of the sister-goddesses: Isis, wearing the throne on her head, at once her name and symbol, stands elevating her right hand to the face of Osiris; and Nephthys, in the same attitude, raises her hand behind the head of Osiris. The Text of this page refers, like the preceding, to the embalmment:

'Anup attached to the embalmment, lord of Ta-ser, arranges the path before me to the Halls of the clothing the Naked [?], he arranges for me a good path to the Hall of the two Truths, he makes me flourish in all places for ever; he makes me one of the followers of the mistress of the West, to go transported into the Ka, and remain for ever placed in Rusta in the abode of Gammut, prepared in Abut daily. The Athorian . . . Hannunefer, daughter of the lady Taani, daughter of the guardian of the body-guard '*mahau*' of the king Kalusharau, son of the lord the chief, the prophet of Mentu, lord of Southern Annu (Hermonthis), Menkara, and born of the Athorian Aiut, daughter of the lady of the house of the guardian of the *mahau* of the king Mentu-Sebauf, in peace, breathing, and living again in the tomb daily.'

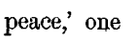
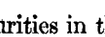
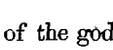
There are some difficulties in this page. At the end of the 1st line, the expression 'clothed the  *bakhai*' is new and unknown; and it is not clear what action of Anubis is here alluded to. In the 3rd line are mentioned the  *hui*, or even *sahu*, a word which is supposed to mean Genii. The place Gammut, in the 4th line, is perpetually mentioned in inscriptions on Theban monuments, as one in which the dead were placed, and may allude to some quarters of the Necropolis of Gournah, called Genii in the Coptic papyri. In this as in the preceding page, an additional name or title,[1] that of Hannunefer, is introduced, while the person for whom the Papyrus was made is stated in the 1st page, 3rd line, to be Taani, 'the Heliopolitan.' This Hannunefer is stated to be the daughter of Taani. Now it appears possible that this may be the person who performed the office of giving her the necessary rites of funeral; or that the decease of her daughter, subsequent to her own burial, may have caused her name to be afterwards introduced into the document. The scribe has used several varieties of expression for the phrase 'born of,' as *mes ba*; and here, line 7, *papa*, 'brought forth.' She is said, line 8, to come in peace by  *asn-nu*,[2] 'breath' or 'existence,' but to live again in the tomb '*khari*' daily.

The Vignette of the 6th page represents the deceased standing in the same attire as before, elevating her right hand in adoration to Thoth and Anubis. The Text reads:

'She comes in peace, one of the hailed, in the Land of Life, after the termination of her time of good life in the . . . . . given only a son and daughter to offer after her. We are watching the coming into her of the breath of life in the Land of Life, united with the female followers of Athor, regent of the West, opening the good house of the close of millions. My forepart meets the coming of the lord of the West. His two sisters are with him; Anubis adoring his face, honouring his . . . . for ever and ever. He has renewed me, and says he gives my soul, by the breath or transmigrations, in my body; he gives breath in all my limbs, as if I had the breath of life. Taani, daughter of the brother of the *mahau* of the king, Kalasher, child of the Athorian Aiut, lady of the house of the brother of the *mahau* of the king Mentu-Sebauf.'

[1] This title may mean 'good husband' or 'man'; it occurs in the titles of Cleopatra at Denderah. Lepsius, Denkm. iv. Bl. 53, a, 'royal wife (of) a good husband' or 'man.'

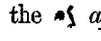
[2] Lepsius, Denkm. iv. Bl. 54, a, 'breath'; 57, a, 'air.'

There are some ambiguities about this page. The deceased is said 'to come in peace,' one of the  *anti*, a word supposed to mean 'iniquitous' or 'unjust,'[1] and often found with the determinative of the man whose brains are knocked out by a hatchet.[2] Another form, occurring at a later period,[3]  appears to signify 'to hail' or 'proclaim,' a sense much more consonant to the text of the present passage. There are also some obscurities in the 2nd line, after the expression 'good life'; and the scribe has written the word *er*, 'to,' above the line, after that of 'soul.' The expression after 'good life' is, 'life in the *khet* . . . giving the soul to my daughter.' Then follows, 'she was reverenced after being kept and placed in my house.' The unusual expression *uteb*, which was found in a former page, occurs again here. The meaning of the 5th line is also obscure, it not being clear what became of her heart or forepart. The phrase reads, 'my forepart . . . at the arm of the mistress of the West.' The word *asn-nu* noticed in the former page occurs here; as he gave animation in all limbs or directions, as if it had the breath of life. There is a new word here to express breath,  *sah*, which occurs elsewhere.[4]

Pl. X.—The Vignette of the 7th page represents the deceased taking the hand of the goddess Nu, or Nupe, and the Osiris standing behind the goddess. The Text contains another chapter similar to the preceding. 'Hail Athorian daughter, lady Taani, daughter of the brother of the *mahau* of the king Kalasherau, son of the Athorian Aiut, lady of the house of the brother of the *mahau* of the king Mentu-Sebauf. The goddess Nu gives her arms to take thee in her shape of Athor, the regent of the West; she lets thee see Socharis-Osiris on the morning of the festival of Socharis. Isis the great mother, Nephthys the sister-goddess, Anupu who dwells in the divine Gateway, Anupu who is attached to the embalmment over the region of Ta-ser, the gods and goddesses who are in Gamut, the prepared spirits who are in Rusta in face of the lord of Asti, all the gods say to thee adoring, we grant thee to go in and go out of the Hall of Truth; thy soul to live with the souls in heaven, thy body to remain in Abut daily.'

There is nothing in this page which requires any philological commentary, as the words and expressions are all usual. The principal mythological facts are these. It contains the dedication of the deceased to the goddess Nu, who in the Osiris legend was supposed to extend her arms over the corpse of Osiris after its discovery and embalmment by Isis. This portion of the myth of Osiris appears first on the coffin of Menkara or Mycerinus, and in the fullest form in an inscription upon the coffin of Harunnefer.[5] Here the offices of the goddess Nu, or Nuhar, are thus expressed.

The Vignette of the 8th page represents Taani led by Thoth, who holds a palette, into the presence of Anubis. This and the following pages form the commencement of the *Shai en Sen sen*, the 'Book of Transmigrations,' or rather the 'Lamentations of Isis over Osiris.' This book has been translated into Latin, but no English version has yet appeared, and some corrections may be suggested in the Latin translation. 'The Book of the Lamentations made by Astennu, in order not to be turned back from the Hall of Osiris. I rise at morning in the cabin to all men; I come and am seen; I set in the cabin at evening, male and female make adoration. I have transported safe in the great house, their silver, gold, and numerous clothes. My soul comes forth to heaven, to see the sun when he shines . . . This inscription which Astennu made for me to go in the door of the Gateway, led by the guides of the roads. Horus and Thoth purify thee, going in peace like the great gods who are in the Gateway, adoring thee . . . . approaching the gate of the West, to the great fabricator of men, declared happy before the lord of the West. I am praised for ever, made for ever. He lets my body remain in the tomb daily. The Athorian lady, Taani, daughter of the brother of the . . . . of the king Kalasherau, born of the Athorian Aiut.'

That the time of embalmment at the Ptolemaic period lasted 70 days, the number given by Herodotus, and often mentioned on the Ptolemaic tablets,[6] is shown by that of Taaiemhetp, to whom the king gave a funeral of 70 days; and another priestess, named Hersankh, was also honoured with one of the same duration.[7] But it appears from some texts that this term was divided into two; the first half, or 35 days, being occupied with the  *api rat* or ceremonies.[8]

[1] Chabas, Pap. Harris. p. 207.
[2] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 164.
[3] Lepsius, Denkm. iv. 46, 10.
[4] Lepsius, Denkm. iv. 14, a.
[5] Sams, Objects from ancient Egypt, fol. Lond. 1839, pl. 31.
[6] Tablet, Egypt. Gall. Brit. Mus. No. 387.
[7] Tablet, Egypt. Gall. Brit. Mus. No. 893. Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. pl. 3.
[8] Tablet, Egypt. Gall. Brit. Mus. No. 387.

There is no particular point of interest in this page, the mythological and other allusions having been already commented upon elsewhere. The 'Lamentations of Isis' belonged, indeed, to the Hermetic books, and appear at a later period, about the age of the Persian dynasty. Their scope was to give the prayers uttered by that goddess on the occasion of the discovery of the lost Osiris, which were transferred with obvious propriety to the embalmment of the dead. Sometimes they contained other portions of the Ritual, and one copy of the 'Lamentations' has part of the 125th chapter incorporated with it.

Pl. XI.—The Vignette of the concluding page represents the deceased standing in the same costume as before, holding the flower of a water-plant bent back upon her breast. In front of her is Osiris who dwells in the West, draped in the same costume as before, standing between Isis and Nephthys, who elevate their hands to address her. 'The great god he opens his mouth to speak to the other gods, at peace is his own face; he orders Hannunefer, her heart is ready. May she be placed as the chief of the servants of the lord of Eternity! May her soul come forth with the souls, her body remains in the Gateway of the heaven! His sister Isis says to Nephthys, Rejoice over her, oh gods of the Gateway! as over the prepared dead who are in Gammut. The Athorian has the breath of life, may she be with you in Rusta in Gammut! May she be united with the servants of the two sisters, [and have] meals of food and drink, wine, milk, wax, supplies of food, and all things good and pure off which a god lives! To the Athorian Taani, daughter of the brother of the *mahau* of the king, Kalasherau, son of Menkara, born of the Athorian Aiut.'

Philologically there is nothing interesting in this page, and it closes with the sepulchral formula which is found in the 'Book of Lamentations,' and which has been already alluded to in the account of the 'Book of Lamentations.'

The last Plate, XII., has in it some miscellaneous objects discovered by Mr. Rhind in his excavations. They principally consist of small Tessons, or Tesseræ, of thin pieces of wood, rounded above in shape of a sepulchral tablet, *hut*, and pierced with a hole, apparently for the purpose of attaching them to some object, as they were all found together in the debris of the sepulchres, and not in the sepulchres themselves with the objects to which they had been attached. It is not easy to divine the purpose for which they were used. No. 8 has at hin riband of linen tied round it, and No. 15 is of stone. They all have their inscriptions traced upon them in black ink. The inscriptions read as follows:

No. 1. 'The year 27th the 11th of the month Pharmuthi, the Princess Nebau, daughter of the Princess Sa-tum.' This date probably refers to the reign of Thothmes III., as the other princes and princesses who are mentioned are of his family.

No. 2. 'The Princess Nini . . . . . of the royal family of Ramen-kheper (Thothmes III.); the mason Maa; the keeper Nefer . . . . . the keeper Nefer . . . . . the embalmer . . .' The left side of this tablet is imperfect, but may be restored from No. 3. There is, however, a line less here.

No. 3. 'The princess Tata of the royal family of Ramen-kheper (Thothmes III.) Those who are behind her; the architect Ukai; the keeper Su or Aat; the keeper Nefruerhaf, the embalmer Nefer-renpa.'

No. 4. 'The Princess Petkaau, of Ramen-kheper (Thothmes III.).'

No. 5. The same.

No. 6. 'The Princess Petpui, surnamed Ta . . . en aui.'

No. 7 'The Princess Petpui.'

No. 8. 'The Princess Petpui, surnamed Ta . . . en aui.'

No. 9. 'The Princess Ptahmeri,' or 'Merienptah.'

No. 10. 'The Princess Sathara.'

No. 11. 'The Princess Neferamen.'

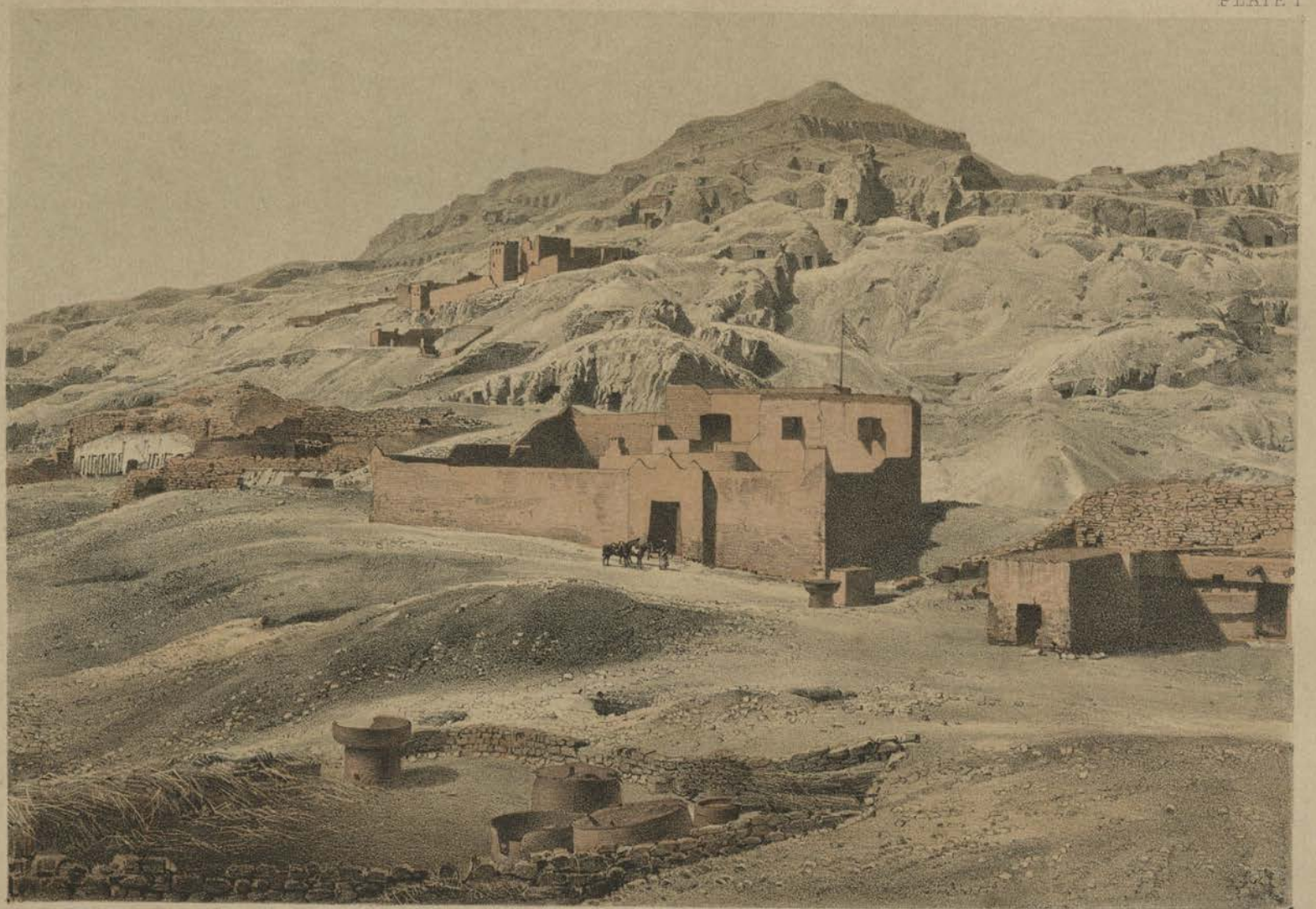
No. 12. 'The Princess Uaai.'

No. 13. 'The Princess Hanan.'

No. 14. The same.

No. 15. A fragment of calcareous stone, on which is inscribed in black ink, 'the Princess Petkau of Ramen-kheper (Thothmes III.).'

No. 16. Three seals of unbaked clay, each bearing the same impression, placed on a fragment of linen. They read: 'The Sun beloved of Thoth and Truth,' and the god 'Anup or Anubis,' with his name. This is apparently a prenomen, but does not occur in the lists.



P. Schenck, Edinburgh

EL SHEKH-ABD-EL-GOORNEH, NECROPOLIS OF THEBES.

ACCOUNT OF THE TOMBS IN WHICH THE PAPYRI AND TESSERÆ WERE FOUND

As some description of the tombs in which they were discovered will supply what may be called the collateral history of the Papyri and Tesseræ represented and discussed in this volume, it has been thought desirable to include such an account of the circumstances under which they were procured, as might be readily and simultaneously referred to, along with the facsimiles and Mr. Birch's dissertation. There is, therefore, presented here, condensed from one of the chapters of a work[1] which I published some months ago, a summary of the facts, accompanied by Plates, which it is hoped will clearly illustrate the position, state, and contents of the tombs.

The particular excavation which led to the discovery in question was commenced at what seemed to me a promising point, nearly at the foot of El Shekh Abd-el-Goorneh. This well-known hill, projecting and isolated by deep ravines from the mountain range of the Desert, rising steeply and almost pyramidally, as is indeed the typical geologic outline in that region, and standing centrally in advance, breaking the sweep of the valley, forms the most prominent feature in the Necropolis of Thebes. Its rocky face, from base to summit, is pierced with the doorways of tombs, many of which are those whose painted walls have become classic as among the most important illustrations of the best period of ancient Egyptian civilisation. The tombs, while occupying every available point, are not generally ranged in regular lines or shelving rows: but although there are instances of such symmetrical distribution, and although in the original adjustment some regard to method must have been pursued with a view to general facilities of access, the main guiding plan which appears to have been followed was simply that indicated by the structure of the crag. Wherever the facets of the rock afforded an opportunity for scarping them down into perpendicular walls of ten or twelve feet in height, there, without reference to uniformity of position, a rectangular area was formed, open generally in front, bounded by two walls of rock, and having the door of one or more tombs cut in its inner face, that is, the side of the hill. Sometimes this inner face is chiselled into panels or other similar devices, and ornamented with a few sculptured hieroglyphic subjects; but, as a rule, the rock is only roughhewn, presenting a bald unfinished look, which, doubtless, in the old days did not exist. For, in the rare instances where the later scenes of funeral ceremonies are depicted in the frescoes, the procession approaches a decorated porch, which stood at the entrance to the tomb.

An idea of the original arrangement and present aspect of El Shekh Abd-el-Goorneh may be readily gained from the view in Plate I.[2] Taken from a point some distance up the slope, and at an angle aslant the hill, the bold isolated contour is modified; and the doorways of many tombs, concealed by intervening projections of the crag or heaps of drift sand, appear less numerous than they strike the eye, when the whole rocky mass, seen in full front from a greater distance, discloses at once its outline and all the perforated crannies in its rugged face. But in this view may be well observed the general plan of the entrances, the forms of protruding ledges, and the glacier-like deposits of sand intermixed with fragments of stone, being the subsidence from the disintegrating rock, often, in the course of years, shifted and helped to its ultimate descent by recurring

[1] Thebes: its Tombs and their Tenants, ancient and present, including a Record of Excavations in the Necropolis. London, 1862.

[2] For this view I am indebted to a photograph taken when the excavations were in progress, by a friend, Mr. J. Nicholson.

attempts to uncover the tombs which it engulfs. The turreted erection of sun-dried bricks standing at a considerable elevation to the left flanks a now deserted abode, occupied in former years by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, by Mr. Hay, and still later by the Prussian Commission under Dr. Lepsius. The similar building in a central position lower down was raised as the head-quarters of Mr. Salt's excavating operations, and in it two friends and myself found an excellent shelter for several months.[1] The stone wall and clay fabrics to the right are outworks of the tomb-dwelling of the Shekh of the troglodyte villagers scattered in this immediate neighbourhood; and the cylindrical objects in the foreground are keeping-places formed of a crust of baked mud, as the manner of the country is, raised in front of another *fellah's* subterraneous habitation.

Burrowed so completely as it is, this hill could not fail to excite hopes in all past times, when any motive for examination existed, of whatever nature it might be; and, accordingly, the cell-like entrances are disclosed in such numbers, or, where more or less hidden, are replaced by such perpetually recurring marks of disturbance, that it was difficult to find a spot which did not offer all the evidences of having been thoroughly explored. At various points, comparatively easy to test, and which seemed to hold out certain vague chances of success, I had already been repulsed by discovering that I had only followed in the wake of previous searchers, and succeeded merely to what they had despised. It has happened, both in the experience of European and Arab explorers, that accident has led them to intact tombs, so easy of access, that it was almost miraculous how they had escaped so long: but as none of those pieces of good fortune fell to me, I was forced to recognise the only reasonably probable prospect as likely to result from a search where the difficulty of the undertaking might have deterred, at all events, native precursors.

A survey of the ground appeared to show that this condition, at least, would be fulfilled in a sort of bay or circular depression between two projections of the crag, almost at the foot of the hill, and about 40 yards to the west of, and on a lower level than, the tomb with chiselled front, at the extreme left of Plate I., which, having been photographed before this particular excavation was commenced, just stops short of including the site in question. It was plain that the amount of labour necessary here would be very considerable, from the extent of the deposit which had settled down by natural subsidence, aided by frequent former operations at higher elevations; and from the indefinite manner in which the tombs were placed, as I have already pointed out, there was no approach to certainty that any might be concealed at this spot. But there always remained the hope that, were one found, its position and the consequent difficulty of reaching it would have saved it from molestation in modern times. Accordingly, as in this part of the Necropolis especially there are none but remote and doubtful chances to select from, this had in any case something to recommend it, and a strong party was set to work.

After the excavation had been carried on for several days, a ledge of rock was reached running inwards; and, although this could not absolutely be pronounced to bear marks of artificial cutting, it was an excellent guide to follow. The process, however, was exceedingly slow, in consequence of the mass of accumulated drift which the nature of the place required to be removed. Nor is the native method of work expeditious. But, whatever the delay incident to the style of labour, the most vexatious source of retarding progress, at the point to which I now refer, arose from the peculiar nature of the ground. The excavation, being at the foot of a steeply angled slope of loose detritus, gave occasion to frequent landslips; and a breeze of wind, a dog or goat passing above, the flutter of a little bird's wing setting a few pebbles in motion, or any other trifling cause, would sometimes give the work the character of digging in the face of a constant avalanche. As, however, the ledge which I have mentioned gave stronger indications of having been hewn the more it was exposed, the course was manifestly to persevere, especially as, in due time, it was proved to be the boundary of an area of the usual kind already described, its junction with a scarp of rock at right angles to itself being reached.

The mode of operation which the disclosure of this new line pointed out was more hopefully entered upon; and at the end of seven weeks a doorway was uncovered in the face

[1] The occupation of this house, as well as the *firmán* from the Egyptian Government which empowered me to excavate, and other facilities, I owed to the kind intervention of Mr. Bruce, Her Majesty's ambassador to China, then Consul-General in Egypt, in considerate furtherance of an introduction with which I was obligingly furnished from the Foreign Office through a friendly application.

of this rock. When originally secured it had been carefully built up and the outside plastered with clay impressed in regular rows with a large seal bearing an *oval*, somewhat indistinct, yet preserving the name of King Amunoph III.: but an aperture was found in this building boding ill for the state of the interior which it had been intended to protect; and every fear was realised. The tomb was a large undecorated rectangular chamber, measuring from forty to fifty feet in each direction, with six square rock-pillars supporting the roof. At one of the inner corners a sunk passage led to another vault on a somewhat lower level, the entrance to which, also once closed and sealed, but with another cartouch,[1] had likewise been broken through, and with what object was sufficiently manifest. The floors were strewn with bones, torn bandages, fragments—but these not numerous—of mummy-boxes, and (in the lower chamber) with mummies themselves, their wrappings ripped up along the throat and breast. A careful search, which I caused to be made among the débris, only produced fourteen small inscribed tablets of thin wood, about two inches and a half long by two broad, and rounded at the top, each pierced with a hole for the purpose of attaching it to a body. Similar slabs of larger size, but with Greek inscriptions, are not unfamiliar Egyptian relics; and during the previous summer a considerable number of this kind, several of which I procured, were found at Goorneh, although in what precise locality I could not correctly ascertain. The legends on those Greek examples for the most part contained the name of the deceased and the age at which he died.

The hieratic inscriptions on the fourteen tablets in question, which are delineated and translated in this volume, likewise present names, and names of a very unexpected kind, being those of princesses of the family of Thothmes III. How those tablets came to be in this tomb, or rather what their presence there may be held to imply, I have great difficulty in conjecturing. Such distinguishing slips known as tesseræ,[2] were attached to bodies, and this was obviously their destination here, some even retaining pieces of the cord which had passed through them. But it is inconceivable that the rifled mummies among which they were found should have been the daughters of a king whose power and architectural works were so considerable as those of Thothmes III. The tomb itself, although undecorated, might possibly be considered, from its reasonably large size, to be sufficiently fitted for such occupants; but the sepulchral accompaniments, as shown by the fragments of common coffins, and somewhat coarse linen swathings, not abundant in quantity, are not to be easily reconciled with the idea that the bodies were actually those of princesses of the royal blood. The wooden tablets themselves would also perhaps have been inappropriately rude media to have borne their epitaphs. If, therefore, the inscriptions upon them are to be held to have had a personal relation, I should be inclined to surmise that it must be by supposing that some of the mummies in this tomb had been slaves or attendants of the palace, and that the names with which they were ticketed were those of personages whose special guardianship they thus, as it were, assumed, or to whose suites they had been attached. The cartouch of Amunoph III., with which the door was sealed, although also countenancing the supposition, does not necessarily indicate that the tomb had any connection even of this sort with royalty, as the monarch's name was so generally used in various ways; but at any rate it proves that the last burial had taken place in his reign, which began (circa 1400 B.C.), about ten years after the death of Thothmes III. At what time the sepulchre had been broken into there was nothing to show, or by whom the ransacking had been accomplished.

A result like that which it exhibited when I gained an entrance, if not altogether unexpected, could not be otherwise than vexatious. But the work here was not yet concluded, and there was still a chance of a more successful issue, or rather, as I then feared, of another disappointment. While the entrance to the tomb which proved such a comparative failure was being reached, the process was continued of clearing farther along the same face of rock in which it was cut. At a distance of twenty feet, a brick wall built up to the rock, and no doubt the vestige of a porch, was a favourable sign; and fifteen feet beyond there was certain promise of another door. This point was attained almost simultaneously with the fruitless opening of the other; and, with so little encouragement to persevere, it was a spiritless task to attempt, what would still be a laborious affair—gaining an entry into a sepulchre which, it could hardly be doubted, was of the same uninteresting class, and had shared also the same fate as that in such close proximity. The discovery of two coarse jars and a small

[1] This seal, which bears a jackal and three rows each of three kneeling men with their hands tied behind them, Mr. Birch remarks to be the same as the stamp used hieroglyphically by the sealer for stamping cattle pronounced to be clean, and refers for a similar representation to *Horapollo*, ed. Leemans, Pl. III. fig. 47 a. He adds, that in inscriptions he has found the tomb often called *khatem*, 'the sealed place.'

[2] Mr. Birch, in alluding to tesseræ as having been fastened to bodies when transported from place to place, points out to me that such are mentioned in a papyrus in the British Museum. Peyron, B., Pap. Grec. p. 40.

plain mummy-box within the brick wall and near the rock was also a bad omen; for it had already several times occurred to me to meet with such evidences of meagre burials, in the rubbish at the entrance of previously rifled tombs.

Although the doorway, as I have said, could almost be detected, the sloping mass of superincumbent stones and sand was for many days an effectual barrier, constantly pouring down like a torrent until a gradient of a sufficient angle was formed. A fortnight more was, therefore, consumed before all doubts were to be resolved; and then appeared another unfavourable symptom, that although the entrance was built up, the rock above had either been broken through, or had fallen in from natural decay. At length a passage to the inside was cleared, and the time had come to ascertain the result, expected with some anxiety but with hardly any hope.

The chamber into which entrance had been thus effected was eight feet and a half broad, about eight feet high, and penetrated the hill to the length of fifty-five feet, as shown in the section Plate II. fig. 1. It was found to be quite clear of rubbish, except about the doorway, where the rock above (as I before mentioned) had been broken or had fallen; and the walls, unfortunately undecorated, were smoothly plastered with clay. About half-way along, a curious object stood upon the floor, the more remarkable and striking because to me it was altogether unexampled; and indeed it is, so far as I know, of its kind unique. This was a funeral canopy of wood, brightly painted, and in perfect preservation, as represented in Plate IV. fig. 1, to which I shall presently revert.[1]

Near it lay, tossed together, chipped, and fractured, four stones, not hollowed, but cut each in one piece, as is sometimes the case, in imitation of the common viscera vases, with the heads of the genii of the Amenti; and farther inwards, close to the wall, was a statue in limestone, two feet high, of a pair of figures seated lovingly together, as was the Egyptian fashion of conjugal portraiture, although here, in point of fact, the relationship was fraternal.[2] This group (Plate III. fig. 1) represents a person named *Ur en ma* [*tai*], a chief of mercenaries, a military officer attached to the police of the temple of Amun Ra at Thebes, along with his sister;[3] and while it may be regarded as a direct memorial of the first or an early owner of the sepulchre, it likewise, from being mutilated, was another evidence of the changes which had taken place—evidence which subsequently became more clear when further research demonstrated that there had been a double appropriation of the tomb. There were also, one on either side of the statue, two tall cylindrical jars (amphoræ) with conical pointed bottoms, and handles attached where the contraction for the lip rises from the narrowing bulge. Finally, the innermost corner to the right was occupied by a large coarse clay platter, half filled with dry mortar, the rest of which had probably been used to complete those arrangements whose appearance gave rise to such sanguine expectations.

The assuring features were the entrances, carefully built up and intact, of two passages diverging from the chamber, one at the inner end, the other about midway along the

[1] It may be well to state, for the information of any who might wish to know where this and the other relics which I procured in Egypt are to be seen, that they and all such antiquities as I have had opportunities to collect are now in the Royal Museum at Edinburgh, to which I have had the satisfaction of presenting them in the belief that objects of this kind are best deposited in a public collection the property of the Government, where their presence is more likely to be useful, and security against loss or dispersion is insured.

[2] This circumstance in some sense reminds us of the fact, that intermarriages, even between brother and sister, took place in Egypt, at all events in the later royal line.

[3] In addition to this, Mr. Birch gives the following note as to the inscriptions:—On the dress of the figures is the beginning of the formula: 'All food off the tables of Amen Ra and Mut is given to the deceased.' The six lines on the back are the dedications; and the reading commences from the right:—

1. His sister beloved from the depth of his heart . . . .

2. Consecrated to Amen Ra, lord of the Horizon, who lets the Osiris *Ur en matai* [chief of mercenaries] see the sun at its rising.

3. Consecrated to Mut, the great mother, mistress of Asheru, who gave food to the Osiris *Ur en matai* [chief of mercenaries].

4. Consecrated to Khunsu in Gami, Neferhetp, who gave water and incense to the Osiris *Ur en matai* [chief of mercenaries].

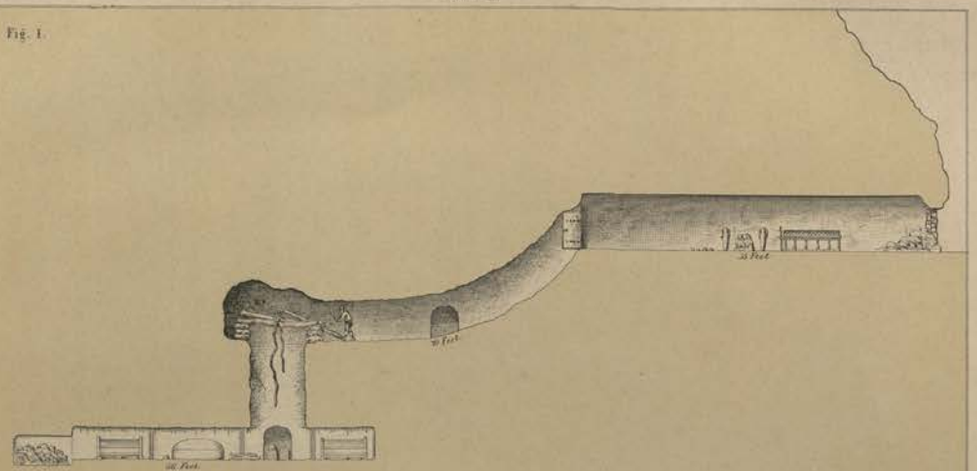
5. Consecrated to Osiris Unnefer, who gave food and air to the Osiris *Ur en m*[*atai*] [chief of mercenaries].

6. Consecrated to Isis, the mother-goddess, who gave incense and libations daily to the Osiris *Ur en m*[*atai*] [chief of mercenaries].

The mutilation of the lower part of the statue leaves some doubt as to the fact of the name or title being expressed by *Ur en m*[*atai*]. The group is perhaps as old as the 18th dynasty, but the style of hair rather resembles that of the 19th. It was dedicated to the Theban and Abydene Triads.

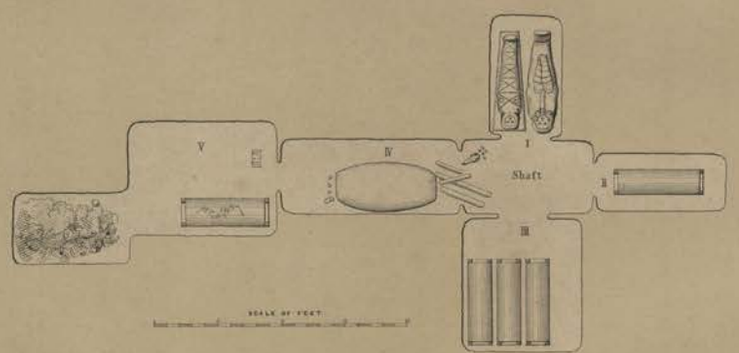
Plate II.

Fig. I.



SECTION SHOWING THE TOMB AND ITS CONTENTS AS DISCOVERED.

Fig. II



PLAN OF THE LOWER MUMMY VAULTS

left-hand side. Nor were these the only or the most encouraging signs, for at the farthest corner of the same side was the opening of another cutting in the rock, secured by a massive wooden door, barred, locked, and protected by a barricade of large stones built in front of it to half its height.

After those details were ascertained, it was necessary to postpone farther examination until the outer entrance was more thoroughly cleared. Early next day this was accomplished, and the men selected to break through the built-up doorways were soon set to work. A few minutes sufficed to remove the obstructions, and, with them, almost every foundation of hope. The side entrance led to a small cell about eight feet by six, and that at the end to another rather more than twice that size. Instead of an untouched deposit in each, both were in confusion. The mummy-cases had been broken open, and the bodies, denuded of many of their wrappings, were, for the most part, lying beside them, not having even been replaced except in one or two instances. Their date was to some extent defined by the style of mummification, the arms being crossed over the breast, and the conserving substance being a dark pitchy bitumen; but the double wooden shells in which they had been placed being quite unlettered, and externally plain black, indicated nothing. Nor was anything discovered by a careful examination of the rifled bodies. Among the debris, however, were several painted funeral tablets of wood of the usual character, boxes that had contained sepulchral clay images, wooden jackals, hawks, the common upright swathed figures on pedestals, and a torn scrap of a hieroglyphic papyrus. In the innermost cell one of the very lamps whose light had aided this destruction, or the consequences of it, stood in a corner. Of the plainest circular form, conventionally termed Roman, moulded of coarse terra cotta, and bearing the evidence of use on its blackened nozzle and half-exhausted wick, it had not been removed when, nearly two thousand years before, the contents of the rifled crypt had been huddled in, and the doorway built up, as if to show that, while the intruders thought it no sacrilege to despoil, the common tribute paid to the mortal vestiges of man, as such, constrained them not to deprive these utterly of shelter.

Kept for the last, there still remained the most important-looking passage — that closed by the massive door; and now beginning to suspect what might have been the sort of treatment experienced by the tomb, I still trusted that this might lead to something of interest, notwithstanding the disheartening condition of the two chambers, which were quite as effectually, if not so elaborately, secured. The door itself was a remarkable object, from its strength and the perfect freshness of all its parts, including two wooden pin-locks of the kind now used in Egypt, the iron nails with large heads with which it was fastened together, and staples of the same metal, in which a bar slipped to and fro. Indeed, so sound and substantial was its whole fabric, after having done duty in this grim abode for at least twenty centuries, that, in a region where timber is scarce, it was regarded by wise householders, who subsequently saw it, as a most desirable piece of property; and my native servant, a Copt, who, about that time I ascertained, was curiously enough in deacon's orders, seeing I did not propose to carry it away, begged that from among the numerous aspirants to the gift, including a bishop, a consular agent, and two shekhs, he might be selected. If he kept his word, which I am obliged to confess is somewhat doubtful, it now hangs in the portals of a church or convent in Cairo.

On it all interest was now concentrated, and it speedily swung round, disclosing a tunnel nearly six feet high. Winding slightly and sloping downwards, this cavernous passage led on through the rock for about seventy feet, terminating at the edge of a shaft ten feet by six. But considerably before the tunnel reached that point two cuttings diverged, one on either side, with their entrances firmly built up. For a few minutes attention was diverted to them, that each recess as it occurred might be examined in turn; and again the result was miserably unsatisfactory. These openings were the doors of cells which were similar in size, and had been treated in a precisely similar manner to those connected with the outer chamber; and from among the shattered vestiges, which partly filled them, only a few such objects were recovered as I have described those last to have contained. There was now no further reason for delaying the examination of the well-like pit, the final, and not for that reason only the most exciting, repository. Reared above it, an erection supporting strong beams, over which the very rope of twisted palm fibres still hung that had lowered to their resting-place the tenants of the sepulchre beneath, appealed with striking force to the imagination, and presented one of those telling pictures which, from the very simplicity of their details, are often the most suggestive exponents of the acts in which they have borne a part. In due time a pioneer was let down to the bottom of the shaft, a depth of nearly twenty feet; and he reported the existence of chambers

penetrating from each of the four sides — one being closed by a strong wooden door. To ascertain this was the extent of his commission, but soon a careful examination followed, and showed the chambers to contain the last funeral deposit they had received, in undisturbed security.

Thus far a reference to the general section of the tomb, Plate II. fig. 1, will aid the description; but with regard to the account which must now follow of the lower chambers, the plan[1] of their arrangement in fig. 2 of the same Plate, should be kept in view. In it they are distinguished by numbers, which may be conveniently used as a means of designation.

No. 1, being not quite ten feet long and five feet six in breadth, was little more than large enough to accommodate its contents. Side by side on the floor, and almost in contact, there were a heavy rather ill-finished mummy-case, shaped in the usual form of the swathed body, with bands of blue hieroglyphics on a white ground — and a plain unsmoothed deal shell or box dove-tailed at the corners. On the breast of the former a wreath of leaves was twined, and above the knees there rested the tiny bodies of two very young children, covered only by a few folds of simple bandages, the outer rolls of which encircled them together. The latter also bore a similar but a heavier burden — the mummy of a full-grown man carefully swathed, the exterior cloth being painted to represent the lineaments of the face, the hands, and the feet, with a line of hieroglyphics from the neck down the front to the extremities. And this was the common method of decorating the corpse during the Roman dominion in Egypt.

The box, which was merely the simplest form of a deal coffin, contained an undecorated mummy. The large case, its neighbour, enclosed two, one the body of a man, the other that of a young girl, bearing two bracelets of bronze or copper, two coarse anklets of iron, and an ear-ring of the same metal, whited in a peculiar manner, as if with silver or tin. The prominent circumstance connected with these two bodies was the slight degree of trouble that had been expended to prepare the mummy-case for them. It had undoubtedly been constructed for a very different tenant — for a tenant of a much earlier time, and probably had held the remains of one of the first owners of this tomb; but whether it had been thus procured on the spot where it was again employed, or not, the method of appropriation had been very summary. For the lid, which showed marks of having once been violently wrenched off, was only laid loosely on, the fractured slips or tongues of wood, which had originally secured it, not having been restored to efficiency, while they were in some cases completely broken away. Nor could this be explained by assuming, with reference to the presence of two bodies, that the coffin had first been deposited with one, and subsequently, as a continuation even in death of earthly affection, opened to receive the other, that of the young girl, which was uppermost; for, besides the evidence of rough usage, it was plain that the case was made having regard to a mummy of different dimensions from either of those within it, and intended to be differently disposed. The corroborative analogy of other facts observed in the tomb likewise went to prove, that here was one of the instances of appropriation of a quite improvised and certainly undisguised character.

Chamber No. 2 was closed by a wooden door, and contained one large coffin, of the plain uninteresting type, constructed with square pillars at the corners, one long panel in either side, and a semicircular top. In this instance a demotic inscription on the end of the case, which will be considered along with the Papyri, was a distinguishing peculiarity.

Chamber No. 3, being ten feet four by nine feet seven, afforded ample space for the three similar mummy-cases, which were stored in it.

In chamber No. 4 stood a massive sarcophagus, of the dark granite of Assouan, quite unpolished, and chiselled no more than was necessary to bring it into shape. Immediately in front of it, and protruding into the shaft, lay some of the appliances which had doubtless been used to move the cumbrous mass,—and the presence of the old workers was singularly

[1] For laying down the measured draught of this plan I was indebted to the readily volunteered assistance of Mr. Wenham and of Mr. Frith, who was then in the neighbourhood filling up the series of his admirably successful photographic views of Egypt and Syria.

recalled, even here in the depths of the grave, by rollers and planks which they had left on the spot, where, as mechanical aids, they had employed them. The planks, too, were another proof of the disregard with which the older occupants of the tomb had been treated, for they were the sides of broken mummy-cases, covered with hieroglyphic groups, in the style which is usually met with on coffins of the period of the 18th and 19th dynasties.

Likewise at the doorway of this vault lay a tall cylindrical jar, precisely like the two formerly described as discovered in the upper chamber of the tomb. It is inscribed near the neck with what appears to be a short line in demotic, almost entirely defaced; and it was nearly filled with the fruit of the Dom palm. Several more nuts of this tree were also strewed about: and they were very frequently accompaniments of the Egyptian dead. I have several times found them in tombs, sometimes along with the common date, sycamore fig, and other fruits.

At the head of the sarcophagus four curious objects were placed upon the floor. First came a figure about eighteen inches long, being the body of a dog very nearly of the shape and size of a small Italian greyhound,[1] imperfectly preserved with natron, and swathed in osiers. Then followed a mummied ibis; a copy of a small hawk perched on a pedestal, considerably decayed, but apparently constructed of folds of linen cloth gummed together; and an oblate ball of bitumen from three to four inches in diameter. There can be little doubt that we are to regard these accompaniments of the departed as significant, in a religious point of view, with reference to the ritualistic teaching on the subject of death and its sequel. The animals in question had a particular relation to the deities chiefly connected with the future of the dead. The dog, for example, was one of the emblems of Anubis, whose special duty was to guide the newly disembodied soul as it passed from the present life to the future, and to aid at the final judgement in weighing the actions which constituted its earthly career. In the ibis, again, we have the emblem of the recording angel, if from this one of his attributes we may so name Thoth, who wrote down and recounted to Osiris the deeds of the deceased. And the hawk was the symbolic bird of that other important functionary of Amenti, Horus, who, after having first taken part along with Anubis in weighing the good and bad actions of the trembling souls, ushered those whose welcome was secured into the presence of Osiris. In the ball of bitumen was embedded a coiled snake, of what species the thoroughly amalgamated character of the mass renders it difficult or impossible to determine; but most probably the mummy is that of a horned snake. This variety being sacred to Amun, it was a custom, Herodotus states, to bury it in his temple at Thebes, of which city we know he was preeminently the god, his title on the monuments there being generally 'King of the Gods:' and Sir G. Wilkinson intimates that it was 'not unusual to find these snakes embalmed in the tombs of Goorneh.'[2]

The inner end of chamber No. 4 communicated with another, No. 5, which contained one more pillared mummy-case, with a festoon of crumbling evergreens resting upon it; and lying, as it were carelessly, on the floor, was a block of stone bearing on one side a portion of a decorative subject, showing that it must have been carried from the ruins of some building, probably the Ramseseum, already dilapidated, which stands at no great distance, and with the materials of which, as indeed with those of any temple, it perfectly accords. The presence of this stone is perhaps to be accounted for on the supposition that it had been used, like the rollers and planks, to move the granite sarcophagus, as a fulcrum or otherwise.

At the farthest corner of this vault was the entrance to yet another, on a slightly lower level, and nearly filled with stone chips and rubbish, among which were no traces of sepulchral remains. This was the limit of the subterranean gallery, whose extreme length from the end of this chamber through Nos. 5 and 4, across the shaft and on to the end of No. 2, was fifty-six feet. The height of the vaults was within two or three inches of five feet; and their roofs were encrusted with dependent crystals proceeding from the nitrous and calcareous constituents of the rock.

[1] The wall paintings preserve, among the numerous representations of dogs, figures of one breed 'with a pointed nose and prick ears,' to which the above most probably belonged. An example may be seen in Wilkinson's *Egyptians in the Time of the Pharaohs*, p. 83.

[2] *Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 248.

Such were the deep recesses of the tomb, such the method in which the dead had been left to their rest, as every object evidently remained in precisely the position it had occupied when the funeral rites were performed over the last who had '*gone down* into this pit.' For had its gloomy silence been ever broken by explorers during any of the subsequent centuries, through whose long course treasure-seeking has more or less vigorously flourished, it would not be conceivable that the mummy-cases should stand intact, and particularly that an imposing receptacle like the sarcophagus, so well calculated to excite the hopes of searchers, should be permitted to retain, unattempted, the mystery of its interior. But the time had come when those who had reposed so long were to be disturbed in turn, although there were no successors to be established, as they had been, in the place of which some of them were to be dispossessed. The tunnel above and the vaults beneath were fully lighted up; the grim corridors resounded with the song of a band of excited *fellaheen*, as they pulled at the hoisting ropes; and the old beams, erected over the shaft, once more bore the unanticipated weight of the coffins, which they had helped to lower to a home that might almost have been deemed as permanent as the duration of time itself.

The size and weight of the granite sarcophagus would have rendered it extremely difficult of removal from its site had that been desirable or necessary, but every purpose was answered by subjecting it to examination where it stood. The solid cover, freed from the cement with which the joint was seamed, was easily raised from the bed on which it simply rested without any of the contrivances for fastening it down that sometimes are seen to have formed part of similar relics; and then the subject of all this care was disclosed, surrounded by yet another precaution for its security. Under, above, and around the mummy, the whole sarcophagus was filled with bitumen, which had been poured in hot, forming a compact mass adhering at all points with such tenacity as to require the most patient labour for its liberation. During the greater portion of this long and tedious work, Mr. Wenham, whose help I have already referred to, very kindly undertook to remain for me on the spot to watch and direct the progress of the operation. At length the object was safely attained, and subsequently, in the upper air, the crude encrustation of bitumen peeled readily away from the outer wrappings of the mummy.

At a very early stage of the process, the bright glitter of the leaf of a golden chaplet aroused to the wildest pitch the extravagant speculations which the *fellaheen* always entertain with regard to the probable contents of tombs of considerable extent. The presence of treasure was whispered about; and, as many of the people in the neighbouring villages had been looking forward with great interest and absurd anticipations for the final result of this particular excavation, a marvellous report, magnifying as it spread, found willing ears, and, in an incredibly short time, pervaded the whole district for miles on either side. The story is now probably a fixed tradition, and it might be attempted in vain to shake the established belief that I procured a profuse amount of gold and jewels of dazzling value.

And this was what gave origin and colour to the notion. The head of the mummy was cased by a gilt mask, outside of which, around the temples, the circlet reposed (Plate III. fig. 2). It consists of a ring of copper, whose metal, about half an inch in diameter, is thickly gilt; and eleven bay leaves of thin gold are attached to it by pliant stalks. Chaplets, if not of this precise arrangement, at least of golden leaves, were frequent accompaniments of burial in the ancient classical lands of Europe; and various collections — such, for instance, as that of the University of Palermo, and the Museo Gregoriano at Rome — contain examples, the one from Greek, the other from Etruscan, tombs. I cannot remember whether any evidence has been met with to show if the Egyptians in earlier times, under their native Pharaohs, decked, in any case, the brows of the dead with similar natural emblems; but, of circlets of another kind, a notable specimen is preserved among the chief treasures of the museum at Leyden, which, instead of leaves, bears on its circumference the symbolically royal asp.[1] It rested on the head of a mummy stated to have been enclosed in a coffin bearing the name of one of the family of the Nentefs of the 11th dynasty; but there is reason to believe that the coffin had been the subject of reappropriation, and that its last occupant, and therefore the crown, are not the representatives of an antiquity at all corresponding with that of their covering.

[1] Leeman's *Lettre à Salvolini*. Compare the asp-formed crowns mentioned on the Rosetta stone.



Fig. I.

STATUETTE WITH INSCRIPTION FROM THE UPPER CHAMBER



Fig II

GOLDEN CHAPLET, FROM THE HEAD OF THE MUMMY IN THE GRANITE SARCOPHAGUS

Another remarkable diadem from the head of a mummy is a hoop of gold nearly an inch wide, graven and studded with scarabæi, now in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool;[1] but the character of zodiacal figures which appear upon its inner surface leads to the inference that it is to be attributed to a comparatively late time. One more exhausts the list of those which, within my knowledge, have been preserved. It is, save as to the leaf, nearly identical with that in Plate III., and is described by Cailliaud,[2] who engraves it, as a chaplet of olive in copper gilt. The mummy whose head it decorated was one of several found in a tomb at Thebes, where the family to which they belonged held a high official position, one having been Archon of Thebes about the close of the first century, A.D. This sepulchre appears to have fallen a prize to the *fellaheen* of Goorneh; for there is no minute account of it, and portions of its contents have found their way into several different hands. In many respects it presents a close analogy to the tomb I am in these pages describing. The occupants of the latter, or at least its principal tenant in the granite sarcophagus, as his Papyrus shows, lived about a hundred and twenty years earlier than the personage whose mummy is depicted by M. Cailliaud, and who died in the nineteenth year of the reign of Trajan; but, in a general way, the dead in both tombs may be said to have belonged to the same period. The shape of their wooden coffins was the same; only in the one case these were plain, in the other covered with figures and hieroglyphics. The outer covering of the mummy copied in Cailliaud's plate is decorated with the identical pattern which I shall presently have to describe. The chaplets were almost correspondingly alike; and with one of the Archon's family was found a Papyrus, deciphered by Champollion, in which his name at least (Cornelius) occurs, not only in Greek, but bilingually in Egyptian—in demotic and hieratic,—just as in the Papyri about to come before us are longer passages in similar duplicate, and otherwise blending these two forms of writing. As to the golden ornament which has introduced this comparison, upon the whole it seems probable that the use of this kind of sepulchral chaplet in Egypt was a direct graft of a Greek practice.[3]

While the head of the mummy in question was decorated with this coronet set on a gilt casing, or mask, the outer cloth covering of the rest of the body was painted in colours designed in a diagonal pattern known in earlier Egyptian decorative work,[4] but which seems to have been very popular in the Greek and succeeding period. The exteriors of two other mummies from this tomb were similarly painted. The same design is found on that copied by Cailliaud, as already alluded to; and, not to specify other examples, it appears again on a curious double mummy-case which I procured at Thebes, and which, as a singular and rare relic, I may mention, contained two infants, side by side, with necklaces, small papyri over their left arms, and figures of Pthah on their breasts—all fastened to the folds of the outer bandages. But the diagonal pattern on the mummies also challenged remark, as additionally connecting them with the wooden canopy in the upper chamber, on the top of which the same ornamentation occurs.

Beneath this painted shroud of the occupant of the sarcophagus were numerous plain folds, which, after a certain depth, were so saturated with fine bitumen and pungent gums, as to form one concrete mass with the body which they encased. Imbedded among them it was difficult to detect various small thin plates of gold (some being in the shape of winged scarabæi), and several pieces of vitreous composition—portions of emblems which had been studded in the bitumen after the fashion better illustrated in the case of another mummy which I shall subsequently describe. From the usual position on the left side the larger Ritual Papyrus copied in the first series of the accompanying facsimiles was recovered. Among the other details derived from it by Mr. Birch's research will be found the information which it gives as to the status and family relations of its bearer. Physically, he appeared to have been, as in reality he was, a man of mature years, with features strongly marked, but of their special characteristics it would be impossible to speak definitely, on account of the adhesive nature of the cerements. The skin of the upper part of the body had been gilt with thick gold leaf; and the arms, first bound round by a single bandage, were brought down by the sides, with the hands resting under the thighs, and then imbedded in the general swathing. That is to say, they were not rolled up apart according to the practice commonly attributed to Greek times, by which also each finger was often separately bandaged.

[1] See *Catalogue* of that Collection, 1852.

[2] *Voyage à Meroë*, vol. iv. pp. 1, seq.

[3] It should, however, be observed, that although details are wanting to show whether in actual practice the use of such chaplets was an ancient native custom, there are two chapters, the nineteenth and twentieth, of the *Ritual of the Dead*, relating to what is called the 'Crown of Justification.' Whether this was intended to be something entirely symbolical it is difficult to know; but the illustrative vignettes of these chapters in the Papyri represent just such chaplets resting upon a small altar, on one side of which stands the god *Atmou*, and on the other the deceased in an attitude of adoration. See copies in De Rougé, *Études sur le Rituel*, *Rev. Arch.* Fév. 1860.

[4] See a specimen on a boat, primarily though not precisely the same, in a funeral procession. Rosellini, *Mon. del Cult.* tav. cxxx.: and, if I remember aright, the same or a nearly similar design may be seen on the roof of one of the very ancient grottoes at Silsili.

All the mummies in the pillared cases, being five, and, indeed, all the others in the tomb, were laid in the same attitude, and the upper portions of several of the former were likewise gilt. Of these, one of a lady from chamber No. 3, the wife, as it proved, of the occupant of the granite sarcophagus, bore, also on the left side, the Papyrus which is represented in the second series of Plates. Another mummy was decorated with a gilt mask; and another, being a handsome specimen of the style of ornamenting externally, by means of inlaid or impressed emblems of gold and coloured vitreous composition, in the manner which, to a greater or less extent, prevailed on all, I removed and have retained in the condition in which the Plate (IV. fig. 2) represents it. In this instance the compact bitumenised cloths began to occur beneath not more than two outer layers of the ordinary linen, and here, in the black glutinous substance, are imbedded the figures. The genii of the Amenti are on the left side, over the spot probably of the ventral incision; Pthah above the knees; Anubis with the corpse on the breast; the hawks of Horus on the shoulders; the pillar of stability on the forehead; eyes of Horus over the eyes; vultures and scarabæi with outstretched wings; and other emblems of the same nature.

Reverting now for a moment to the funeral canopy, there can be little doubt that this designation correctly describes the service in which it had been employed. The sculptures and wall paintings constantly exhibit, in mortuary processions, the mummy resting in a boat, sledge, or car, as the case may be, covered with a species of shrine. Those shrines usually appear to have been large and cumbrous, presenting to the eye almost the architectural solidity of dwarfed temples; but I remember at least two or three instances in which they are represented with something like the lighter proportions of that in the frontispiece. One occurred upon the bandages of a mummy;[1] another is part of the model of a boat found by Passalacqua[2] at Thebes. Although the nature of objects of this kind has therefore been sufficiently familiar, there is, I believe, no evidence of any actual example having before been met with. The inscription[3] which it bears along the top, referring almost certainly to the same individual as the large Papyrus from the granite coffin, indicates that the canopy had been used in the funeral obsequies of the personage for whom the sarcophagus had been provided; and it would seem to have been left in the upper chamber, when the mummy, which it had probably overshadowed in the procession, was carried below to the prepared abode. I have already adverted to the state of preservation as to fabric and colour, in which this relic was found; and I have elsewhere discussed some of the questions in ancient metallurgy illustrated by the condition of nails and staples of iron which enter into its construction.

The history of the sepulchre whose details I have thus attempted to describe may, with no great difficulty, be surmised. Most of the painted tombs in its vicinity in the same hill, whose decorations and inscriptions specify their age, date from the time of the great dynasties of Thebes, and there is every reason to believe, from its position, that this one also had been excavated and used at the same period. Indeed the tomb immediately adjoining, whose entrance I discovered first in the area—which must, to all appearance, have been cut with equal reference to both—was sealed, as we have seen, with a cartouch bearing the name of Amunoph III. (about 1400 B.C.): and in all reasonable probability this indication of age may be fairly held as of common application to the two. Moreover, this conclusion is corroborated by the style of the mutilated statue, the characteristic mummification of the rifled bodies, the construction of the broken coffins, and the other sepulchral adjuncts of the older burials, of which the later spoilers had preserved the traces.

Whether the original occupants were allowed to sleep on in peace until the time of the last appropriation, or whether their right of property had been occasionally infringed in the interval, or themselves and others also in turn displaced according to a not unusual practice for adding to the revenues of the priestly custodiers or owners of the tombs, can only be

[1] The group has been frequently engraved. See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, or his notes to Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 108.

[2] The plate in his *Catalogue Raisonné* represents it imperfectly. It may be seen better on a larger scale in Pettigrew's *History of Mummies*, plate iii. Rosellini gives two subjects from tombs where the shrines are of light open work, *Mon. Civ.* tav. cxxvii. A more substantially constructed one may be compared, *ib.* cxxviii.

[3] I am indebted again to Mr. Birch for the following rendering of the inscription:—'Oh Osiris Mentu-Sebau, justified, son of the lady of the house, the Sistrum-bearer Rut pi mentu, son of Menkar ra [Mencheres] justified! Him who is attached to the embalming, thou hast come to; he has prepared thy bones; he who is over the hill [Necropolis] has washed thy flesh; he comes to thee under the . . . of the God, . . . the place of punishment of the Great God, thy mother Nu [the firmament] has placed thee within her. Thou failest not [to be] there for ever.'

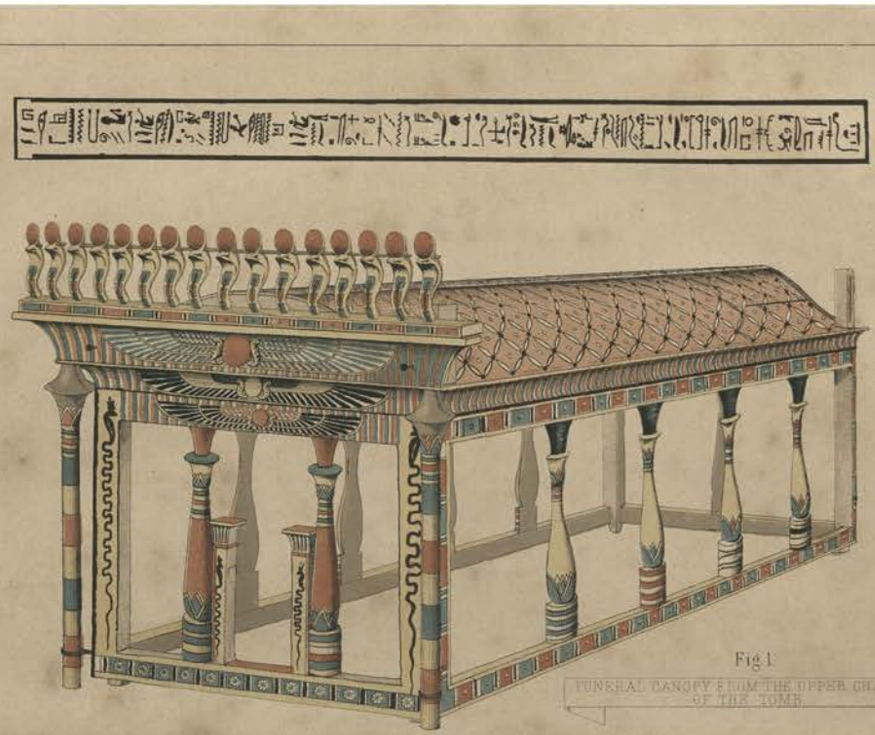


Fig I.

FUNERAL CANOPY FROM THE UPPER CHAMBER OF THE TOMB



Fig II

DECORATED MUMMY FROM ONE OF THE PILLARED COFFINS

conjectured. But twelve or thirteen hundred years had elapsed before the final innovation in the first century before our era was accomplished, which left the tomb in the condition in which I found it.

Although the date at which he lived and the rank of the principal personage, as well as other particulars, can be ascertained by means of the Papyri, it cannot be otherwise than hypothetically decided what, if any, connection had subsisted between all those who in this tomb were so closely associated in death. There is no difficulty in supposing the occupants of the sarcophagus and of the five paneled cases to have been related by family ties, as is, indeed, proved to have been the fact in one instance. But between him who reposed in state in the former, and the man, for instance, who had no more handsome coffin than the plain box like a workhouse shell, there appears a broad line of separation; nor does it seem that their juxtaposition can be easily accounted for, except by some such conjecture as supposing the domestic or other personal dependence of the one upon the other. That the chief of the group, the granite sarcophagus, was among the last deposited, I think is more than probable. The planks and rollers, even a chip of coarse pottery holding the residue of the cement which had been used to fasten down the lid, all left lying on the spot, would indicate that no considerable rearrangement had subsequently been made.

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EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

RHIND. PL. I.



EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

RHIND. PL. II.

EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

RHIND. PL. III.





EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

RHIND. PL. IV.

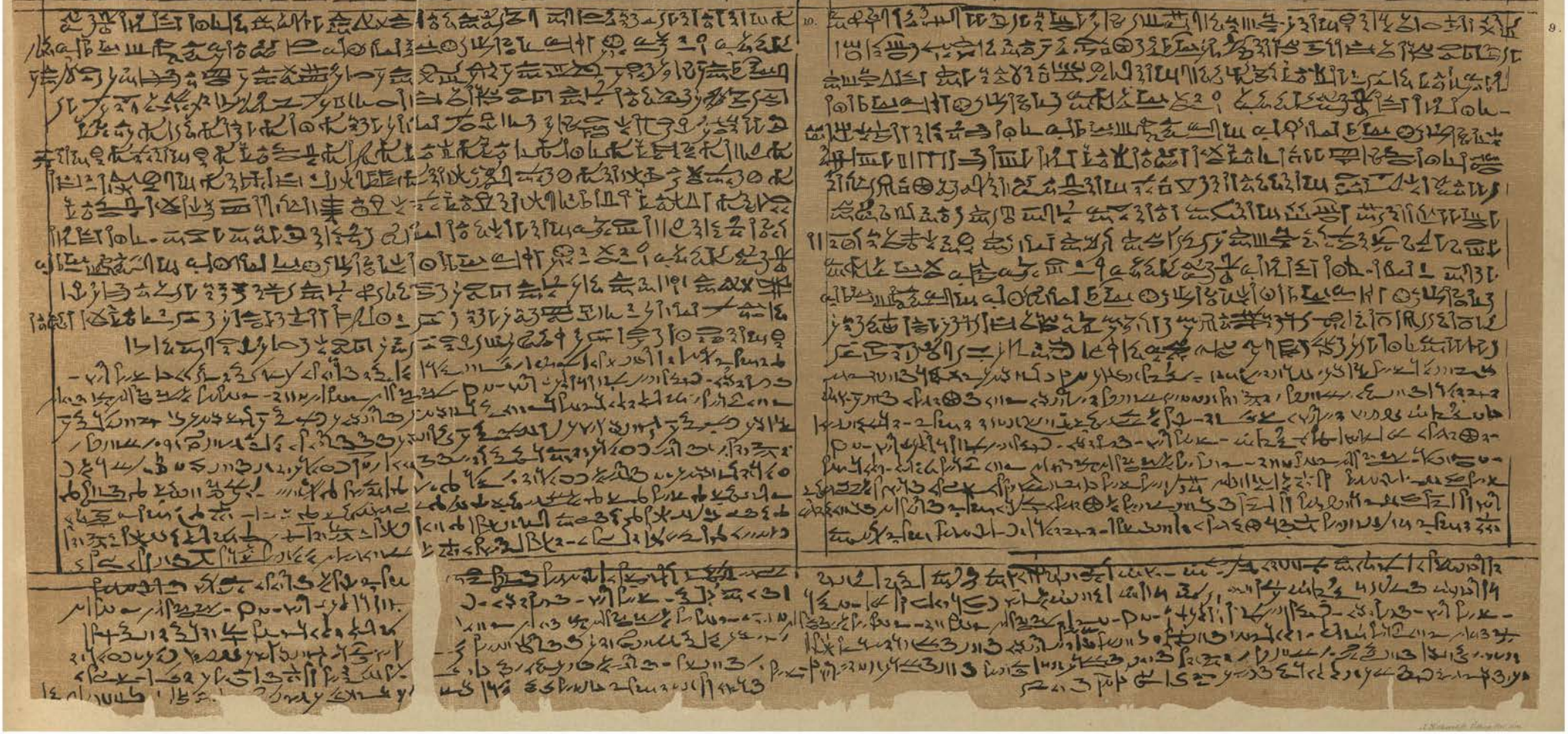




EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

RHIND. PL. V.





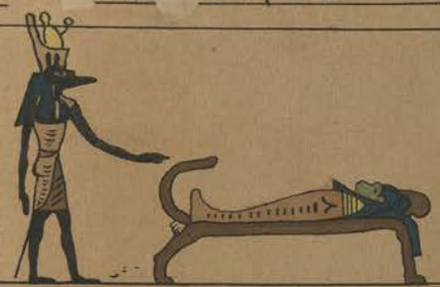
EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

RHIND. PL. VI.



EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

RHIND PL. VII.





EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

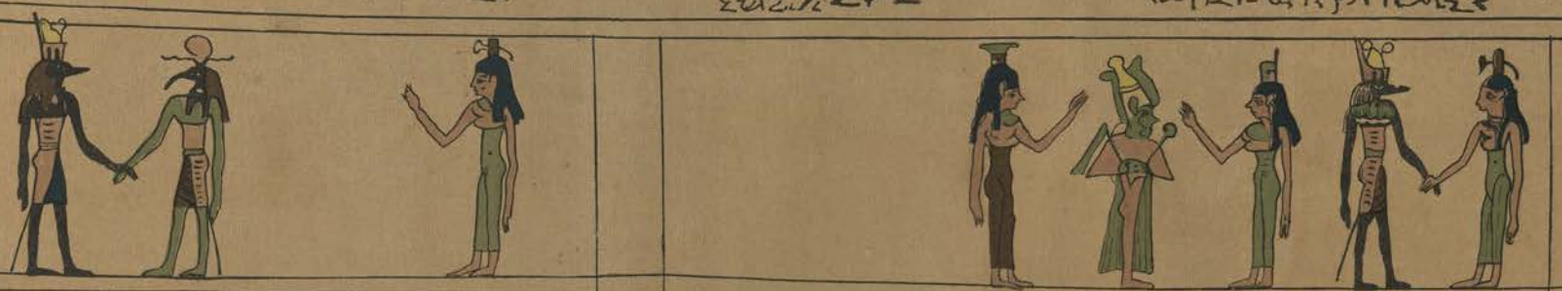
RHIND. PL. VIII.





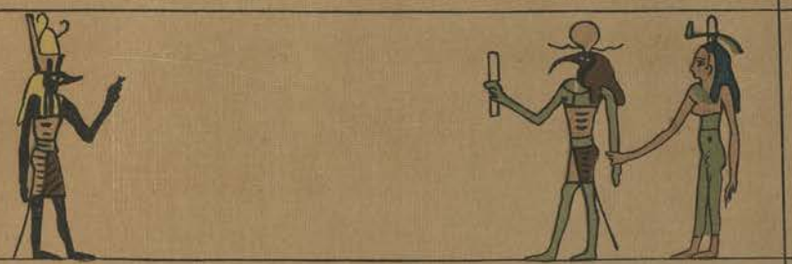
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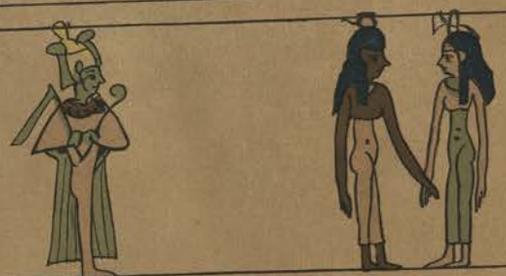
RHIND. PL. IX.



EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

RHIND. PL.X.





EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

RHIND. PL. XI.

EGYPTIAN TESSERÆ, &c.

PL. XII.


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